

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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MASS ACTIONS PLANNED IN PUERTO RICO: According to Ruben Berrios, president of the Puerto Rican Independence Party, between 40,000 and 50,000 persons will take part in protests sponsored by his party and by MPI on Sept. 12 when the National Governors Conference opens in San Juan. Sept. 12 is the 80th anniversary of the birth of Pedro Albizu Campos, the nationalist leader who died in 1965.

CORPORATE UNDERGROUND: The current issue of *The Nation* carries an article by Timothy H. Ingram revealing that most giant U.S. corporations are experiencing a reflection of the radicalization in the appearance of employee-published underground newspapers. Some of the papers published by "rebels in gray flannel suits" that Ingram discusses are the *AT&T Express*, the *Standard Oil Stranded Oiler* and the *Metropolitan Life Met Lifer*. He reports that such papers, discussing topics like racism, sexism, job safety and union questions, "have been playing havoc with the old concepts of company loyalty."

MITCHELL COMES OUT AGAINST STUDENT VOTERS: Speaking at a gathering of the National Association of Secretaries of State in Saratoga Springs, N.Y., on Sept. 1, U.S. Attorney General John Mitchell said he opposed altering the restrictive residency requirements that effectively prevent students 18 and over from exercising their newly won right to vote. "Whether we are considering state and local elections or national elections," Mitchell is quoted as saying in the Sept. 2 *New York Times*, "extending the vote to 18-year-olds should not affect the residency requirements now prevailing in the states. . . ."

CHILDREN AND AIR POLLUTION: A panel of the National Academy of Sciences found that "The air over the largest cities has a concentration of lead 20 times greater than the air over sparsely populated areas of the country and 2,000 times greater than the air over the mid-Pacific ocean." In a report released Sept. 6, the panel said that lead in the air posed a threat to the health of children especially and also to garage workers and others "who are more or less continuously exposed to unusually high concentrations of lead in ambient air in the course of their work."

CHILDREN AND DOGS: Clark Whelton, writing in the Aug. 19 *Village Voice*, explained that the covering of New York sidewalks with dog dung is more than just disgusting: it poses a serious health hazard because of the commonly carried (by dogs) intestinal parasite, *toxocara canis*. A child who falls and scrapes a knee on a sidewalk that has been used as a puppy toilet can thus contract the disease, and Whelton cites several cases in which children have lost their eyesight as a consequence of *toxocara canis*.

EFFECTS OF PRISON: An article in the Aug. 21 *San Francisco Chronicle* told of an experiment conducted by the psychology department at Stanford University. Twenty-one student volunteers became prisoners and guards in a mock prison set up at the school—10 prisoners and 11 guards. The experiment took place in the psychology building basement. Supervised by Professor Philip Zimbardo, it was scheduled to last two weeks. But Zimbardo called it off a week early because the students "adapted to their new roles too realistically." The guard-students developed sadistic behavior and the inmate-students began to break down—one broke out in a rash. "If in our prison . . . with no real brutality . . . men can be broken so easily, what are real prisons doing to men?" Zimbardo asked.

PAPAL TOLERANCE: The Aug. 30 issue of *L'Osservatore Romano*, the Vatican newspaper, called Ken Russell's *The Devils* "an insult to cinema," charging the film director with indulgence in "images and sounds of such an obscenity as had never been seen before on the screen, in order to accomplish a crude lynching of the Church of yesterday, of today, of all time. . . ." The film is about the trial and torturing of Urbain Grandier, a priest charged with communion with Satan in the French city of Loudoun in the seventeenth century. *L'Osservatore Romano* also called for the firing of Luigi Rondi, director of the Venice Film Festival, for allowing the film to be shown at the festival.

GAY LIBERATION IN CANADA: Two gay liberation actions were held in Canada Aug. 28, demanding the repeal of anti-gay laws. A reader who attended an Ottawa march reports about 150 people participated, despite pouring rain. Organizations supporting the action included Community for Homophile Action of Toronto, Toronto Gay Action, Waterloo University Gay Liberationists, and the Front Liberation du Homosexuel, a Quebecois group based in Montreal. Our reader reports there was also another action in Vancouver the same day.

POISON IN THE "FOUNTAIN OF YOUTH": In this culture, the effects on one's body of the passage of time are regarded as a curse; physical beauty is measured against a rigid youthful standard, no matter what a person's age is. For those who can afford it, clinics have sprung up across the country that remove facial wrinkles with "chemosurgery," using phenol. An article in the Sept. 1 *New York Times* reports numerous cases of scarring from this "face peeling" and one death. "In addition to scarring," says the *Times* article, "chemosurgery can produce tretropion, a condition in which the eyelids turn inside out, and deloids, which are new growths of skin in thick, white ridges and nodules." Phenol can also be absorbed into the system through the skin, causing kidney damage, etc.

CROP-DUSTING: The death of a nine-year-old migrant farm worker Sept. 2 from being sprayed with poisonous insecticide in New Jersey provoked the revelation in the Sept. 6 *New York Times* that it is a common practice of big New Jersey farmers to have their crops dusted by low-flying light planes while workers are in the fields. Leaving aside the fact that using these insecticides at all poses a broader long-range danger to people who eat the crops, the callous disregard of the farm owners for the health of the migrant laborers they exploit is clearly demonstrated by the *Times*' report that Charles Thomas' death "followed complaints from a number of other migrant farm workers who charged that they too had been sprayed indiscriminately in South Jersey fields and had been forced to pick crops that were still wet with insecticides."

ANTIWAR IMMIGRANT WINS LEGAL VICTORY: Mary Lou Massignani, a 30-year-old Italian-born antipoverty worker in Wisconsin who had been denied permanent resident status for signing an antiwar ad in the *Milwaukee Journal* three years ago, was granted permanent residence when the immigration and naturalization service overturned its earlier ruling Sept. 4. The ad she had signed in October 1968 supported the "Milwaukee 14," a group of protesters who had destroyed draft board records.

CORRECTION

In the article entitled "Why wages are not the cause of inflation" in the Sept. 3 *Militant*, pretax corporate profits were said to have risen by 300 percent between 1965 and 1971. This figure is in error. The actual increase was 5.4 percent.

However, this figure is distorted by the recession that began in 1970. A more accurate picture of how the Vietnam war affected profits can be obtained by examining the profit increase between 1964, the year prior to the massive escalation of the war, and 1969. Pretax profits rose in that period from \$66.8-billion to \$91.2-billion, or 22.8 percent. Between 1969 and the second quarter of 1971, annual pretax profits dropped \$9.2-billion, or 10 percent, due to the recession induced by the Nixon administration. The motive for initiating the recession was to increase long-term profits by putting pressure on wages through increased unemployment. The failure of this "game plan" led to the imposition of the wage freeze.

"BLOOD AND CHAOS": The National Youth Alliance, an Arlington-based fascist organization that had its beginnings in the Youth for Wallace during the 1968 presidential campaign, calls for "revolution" in the current issue of its newsletter *Attack!*, according to the Aug. 22 *Washington Post*. Stressing the need for "blood and chaos" to "cure the system," the *Post* reports, the NYA's *Attack!* states: ". . . we must wake up and realize that the policeman . . . and the congressman . . . are no longer either our guardians or our servants—they are the guardians and servants of the system. . . . We do not need to reason with the monster. We need to put a bullet in its brain and hammer a stake through its heart. . . ."

NEW PATHFINDER PAMPHLETS: The September-October Pathfinder Press newsletter reports that the publishing company will be bringing out three new women's liberation pamphlets this month: *Abortion: A Woman's Right* by Linda Jenness, Caroline Lund and Cindy Jaquith; *Kate Millet's Sexual Politics: A Marxist Appreciation* by Kipp Dawson, Evelyn Reed, Eva Chertov, Dianne Feeley, Linda Jenness and Caroline Lund; and *Sisters in Struggle 1848-1920* by Debby Woodrooffe. Also scheduled for publication at the end of the month is a pamphlet on the protests that forced Nixon to pull back from Cambodia—*May 1970: Birth of the Antiwar University*, an anthology with an introduction by Frank Boehm.

—LEE SMITH

Militant circulation gets a boost

By BAXTER SMITH

The campaign to increase the weekly circulation of *The Militant* was given an important boost with sales of the Sept. 10 issue. Several areas, like Boston, Chicago and Detroit, each sold close to 1,000 *Militants* in that one week alone.

Sales were good at bus stations, downtown shopping areas, plant gates and unemployment offices. Detroit reports selling over 400 copies at several factories. Sales people found the best-selling articles to be those about the wage-freeze, the killing of George Jackson and the Socialist Workers Party 1972 presidential election campaign.

Many areas have now decided to increase the size of their *Militant* bundle permanently, some even doubling it!

The campaign to sell 30,000 new subscriptions begins Sept. 15 with *Militant* supporters selling at political meetings and rallies on every campus and high school, in the communities, on demonstrations, at plant gates and other places where radicalizing young people can be found.

With the opening of school, special efforts are being made to cover registration lines and the orientation sessions for new students. Frequently organized dorm drives will again be a crucial aspect of campus subscription sales.

Experience from previous subscription drives has shown that there is

no simple gimmick for sub selling. According to Dean Reed of San Francisco, a top salesman from the last two sub drives, the key to high sales is persistence: "At a certain point you get tired—it's very hard work—but you have to keep going and going. The more people you talk to, the more subs you are going to sell."

Dean says he found a friendly low-key approach to be the best: "I explained to people that *The Militant* has the best coverage of all the mass movements of the day. I'd show them the cover, show them an article inside; they'd be interested, and I found that a very high percentage of the people who took the paper in their hands and looked at it ended up buying a subscription."

He makes sure to ask every new *Militant* subscriber to also subscribe to the *International Socialist Review*: "After they have bought their *Militant*, you can begin: 'Have you seen the *ISR* before? It's the companion to *The Militant*. It's a monthly theoretical magazine that deals with questions in more depth than *The Militant*.'" Then he shows them the current issue.

Dean feels that the quota of 30,000 new readers is a "conservative" estimate. "We are in the midst of the deepest radicalization in this century," he said, "and there are many more than 30,000 people out there who want to read *The Militant*. It's just a matter of going out, finding them and talking to them."

How you can help

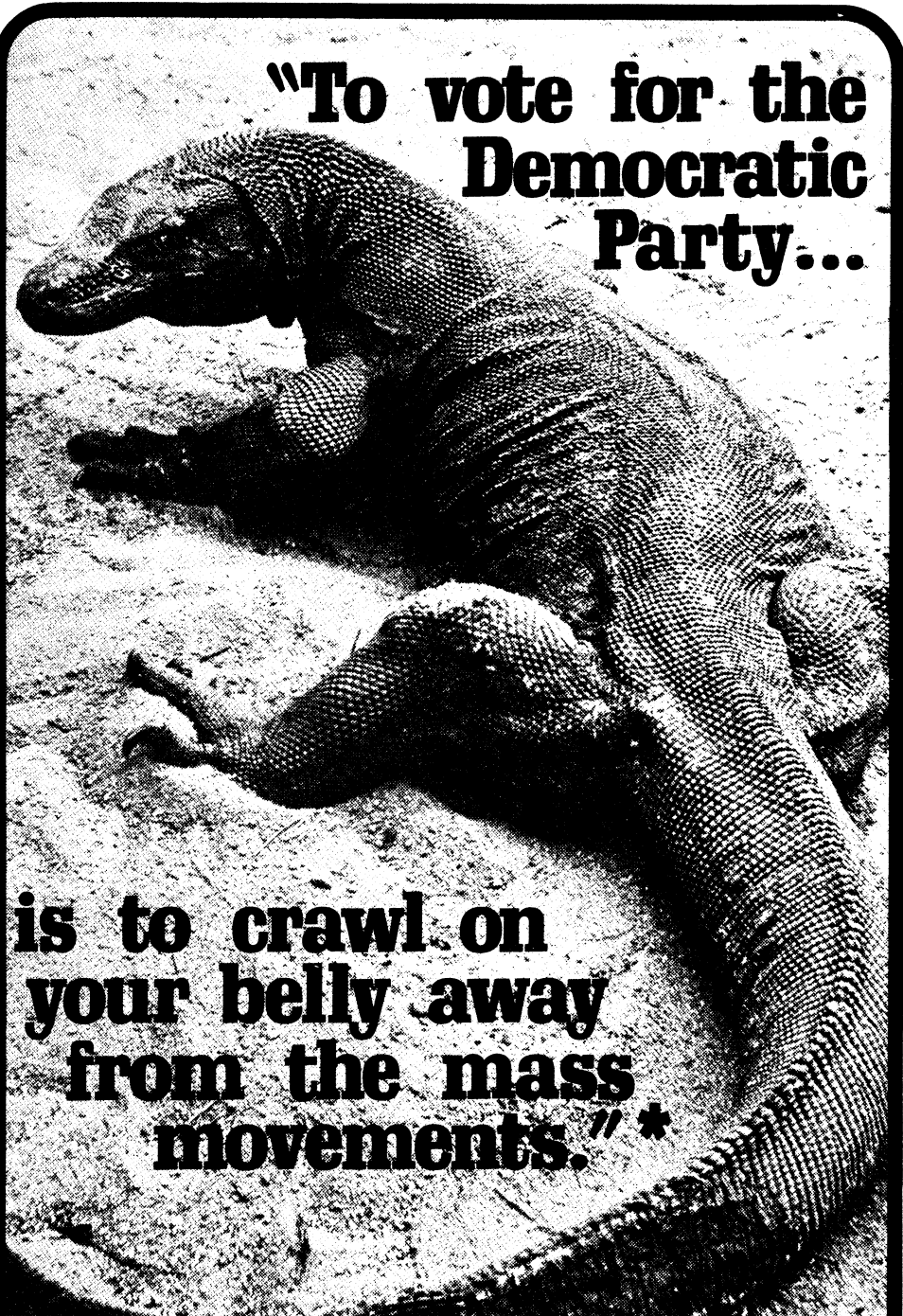
The success of this fall's drive for 30,000 new subscribers will depend upon the readers of *The Militant*. You can help by taking a quota—whatever you feel you can sell by Dec. 1. Just fill in the coupon below and we will send you a complete subscription kit including sub blanks, poster strips, buttons and sample copies.

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"To vote for the Democratic Party..."

is to crawl on your belly away from the mass movements." *

*From a speech by Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president in 1972

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Abortion repeal campaign moves ahead

By JEAN WALKER

On Aug. 31, over 300 Michigan women rallied in downtown Detroit and then marched to the City-County Building to file a class-action suit challenging the constitutionality of the Michigan abortion law. *Militant* correspondent Suzanne Spiegel writes: "As the suit's attorneys went inside to file the complaint—which represents 830 Michigan women—women outside formed a huge picket line and carried signs reading 'Repeal all abortion laws,' 'Abortion—a woman's right to choose,' and 'Free Shirley Wheeler.' (Shirley Wheeler is a Florida woman who has been convicted of manslaughter on charges of having an illegal abortion.)"

Among the 830 women plaintiffs in the suit are 30 women attorneys, 17 women doctors, over 40 nurses and 50 professional women in social and psychological fields. In two weeks the

suit will be amended with many more women who became plaintiffs after the original filing date.

Present at the rally and supporting the suit were the National Organization for Women, Wayne State University Women's Liberation, the YWCA, Michigan Organization for the Repeal of Abortion Laws, Livonia High School Women's Center, and women from groups in Ann Arbor and East Lansing.

In late September, writes Suzanne Spiegel, a meeting is planned to launch a Detroit-area Abortion Action Coalition, which will bring together all groups in the area that support the aims of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC). WONAAC is coordinating abortion-law repeal activities on all levels, leading up to massive demonstrations in San Francisco and Washington, D. C., Nov. 20 for repeal of

laws restricting abortion and contraception and no forced sterilization.

The Michigan women's rally and the filing of the class-action suit are only part of the many abortion-law repeal activities occurring around the country.

A regional organizing conference was held in Chicago Aug. 28, sponsored by the Illinois Women's Abortion Coalition and attended by 45 women. The keynote speeches opening the meeting were given by Dr. Beatrice Tucker from the Chicago Maternity Center, and Phyllis Smith from the Lutheran Women's Caucus, a group which endorses the Illinois Abortion Coalition.

Militant correspondent Meryl Farber writes: "The conference discussed plans for launching a class-action suit challenging the Illinois abortion law and also laid plans for a regional abortion-law repeal demonstration in Chi-

cago, to be held some time in October. The women felt this demonstration could serve to build regional women's participation in the campaign to repeal abortion laws and also be a building step toward the massive demonstrations on Nov. 20."

On a national level, the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition has moved into large new offices in Washington, D. C. WONAAC has just launched an endorsement drive in an effort to gain support from women in all sectors of society—churches, high schools, trade unions, professional organizations, Black women, Chicana women, Asian-American women and Puerto Rican and Native American women—for the national abortion-law repeal campaign.

The new address of WONAAC is: 917 15th Street N.W., Suite 502, Washington, D. C. 20005. The phone number is: (202) 347-0946.

Union officials back Nov. 6 antiwar action

By LEE SMITH

SEPT. 7—More than 100 representatives of organized labor have signed a statement urging trade unionists to fight back against Nixon's attack on working people by participating in the fall antiwar offensive.

The statement, to be released at a Sept. 9 news conference of the National Peace Action Coalition in Washington, D.C., urges endorsement and participation in the Nov. 6 mass antiwar marches in 16 cities, as well as the build-up moratorium actions on Oct. 13.

Scheduled speakers at the news conference were NPAC coordinator Jerry Gordon, Martha Tabor of the American Federation of Government Employees, Charles Cheng or Bill Simons of the Washington Teachers Union, and Marvin Rogoff of Washington Labor for Peace.

Signers of the statement include trade union officials from across the country. Among the more than 100 endorsers are Leo Fenster, secretary of the United Auto Workers District Auto Council in Cleveland; Mort Furay, president of Hotel, Motel and Restaurant Union Local 705 AFL-CIO, Detroit; Pat Gorman, secretary-treasurer, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America AFL-CIO, Chicago; Vinnie Graissi, administration organizer, Local 1199,

Drug and Hospital Union, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union AFL-CIO, Massachusetts; Stan Greenspan, international representative, UAW, Washington, D.C.; Dale Hoagland, president, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America Local 408 AFL-CIO, Houston, Texas; David Livingston, president, District 65, National Council of Distributive Workers of America, Alliance for Labor Action, New York; Bill Olwell, president, Retail Clerks International Association Local 1001 AFL-CIO, Seattle, Wash.; Paul Perlin, secretary-treasurer, Southern California District Council, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union; Elvis Swan, international representative, RWDSU AFL-CIO, Minnesota; and John T. Williams, organizer, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Los Angeles.

The statement reads, "The labor movement faces a grave challenge. Nixon's wage freeze is an attempt to shift the burden of the Vietnam war more directly onto the backs of working people. . . . Moreover, the wage freeze is an assault on the labor movement. It threatens the right of unions to exist and win wage gains for our members and it drives down the standard of living of America's workers. . . .

"Nixon claims high wages cause inflation. That is not true. The war is

the major cause of inflation. To check inflation, *we must end the war in Vietnam*—not freeze wages. . . .

"The tremendous social and political weight of the labor movement can be the crucial factor in forcing the administration to bring the troops home now.

"We urge you to endorse and participate in the Nov. 6 antiwar demonstrations as well as the build-up Moratorium Day demonstrations of Oct. 13. Help mobilize labor for the greatest possible outpouring against the war. Tens of thousands of trade unionists demonstrated on April 24. Millions should be in the streets on Nov. 6.

"For a solution to the economic crisis, we say, 'Stop the War, Stop the Military Spending, Bring the Troops Home Now!' Not another penny, not another life, not another day for Nixon's war. No wage freeze for Nixon's war!"

Significant support for the fall antiwar offensive was registered also at the Aug. 30-Sept. 6 United Electrical Workers convention in Los Angeles. More than 50 delegates added their names to the Sept. 9 statement on the wage freeze and the war. Among the signers at the convention were four of the UE's six international vice-presidents who are directors of the union's regional districts.

The Out Now Coalition, Los Angeles affiliate of NPAC, maintained a literature table in the lobby adjacent to the convention hall. Speakers who urged support for the fall antiwar offensive during discussion of an antiwar resolution wore antiwar buttons purchased at the coalition's table, and several speakers urged all the delegates to stop at the table for material and information.

Dozens of delegates did stop at the table to talk to Los Angeles Teamster organizer and NPAC coordinator John T. Williams and others staffing the table about organizing labor participation in the Nov. 6 marches and build-up actions.

Two Aug. 30 releases from the Minnesota Peace Action Coalition announced the endorsements of Minnesota Congressman Joseph E. Karth and United States Farm Organization president Fred Stover for the Nov. 6 actions. Stover announced that in Minneapolis-St. Paul and other cities, farmers would march in separate contingents Nov. 6.

"The inflation caused by the war affects farmers too," Stover said. "They realize that economic stability will return only when the war is finally and totally ended, and they will be in Minneapolis in record numbers on Nov. 6."

Labor statements link wage freeze to war

By FRANK LOVELL

A number of union leaders throughout the country are linking their opposition to the wage freeze to attacks on the Vietnam war—the principal cause of the intensive inflation that exists today.

On this point they are taking a position contrary to the AFL-CIO Executive Council statement against the wage freeze, which does not mention the war. The top echelons of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy headed by President George Meany have loyally supported the imperialist aggression in Southeast Asia from the very beginning.

President Leon Davis of Local 1199, Drug and Hospital union (AFL-CIO), released a statement of the union's Executive Council Aug. 30, which was in full agreement with the AFL-CIO position in opposition to the wage freeze, with one necessary addition.

This important amendment by Local 1199 states: "Finally, what has not been said by the AFL-CIO and what is becoming more obvious to all is that the economic fix we are

in is primarily due to the unjust war we have been conducting in Southeast Asia, and upon which we are still spending billions of dollars and sacrificing thousands of American and Vietnamese lives."

In the August issue of *1199 News*, President Davis refers to the tarnished "image of the AFL-CIO," and explains that one reason the union movement has a bad image "among the majority of American people, including a substantial part of its own membership," is its failure to oppose the war policy of this government.

Referring to the policy of the AFL-CIO Executive Council on the war issue, Davis says, "Its position on the war in Vietnam violates its oft-pronounced concern for the welfare of the workers. It has pursued a policy on this question to the right of President Nixon. It has remained the only pillar of support of the Nixon war policy. There is a greater unanimity for this war in the high councils of the AFL-CIO than there is in the Nixon Cabinet."

Another example of the growing antiwar opposition in the labor movement was the antiwar resolution adopted by the American Federation of Teachers (AFL-CIO) at its recent convention in San Francisco (see Sept. 10 *Militant*).

One of the strongest statements against the war, prompted by the government edict freezing wages, came from 13 presidents of United Auto Workers locals in the Cleveland area.

These UAW local presidents placed an advertisement in the Aug. 24 Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, one of the city's largest dailies, to condemn the wage freeze. Their statement said, in part:

"Now, ask yourself, how did the richest country in the world with more natural resources than any other country and with a gross national product that surpasses all the free countries of Europe combined, come to where we are today! There are a number of reasons. Just to give you one: It's a shame that this country doesn't seem to be able to provide a decent standard of living for all

its people, with full employment and a stable economy, without being oriented to war or defense spending. Better than three-fourths of the national budget is allocated to defense (around \$80-billion a year). And, in the last decade, better than \$100-billion has been thrown away on an undeclared, political war that we should have never been involved in in the first place. This is to say nothing of the cost in lives of our young men being lost, not to mention the human waste in the lives of the enemy. If that's what you call them. (Sometimes one has to ask himself, 'The enemy of whom?'). . . ."

The authors of this statement are closer to the UAW membership than top leaders of their union like President Leonard Woodcock, who has remained silent on the war since Nixon imposed the 90-day wage freeze. These local union presidents must stand for election by a referendum vote every two years.

Victor Gotbaum, executive director
Continued on page 22

SMC sponsors speak-out against freeze

By STU SINGER

BERKELEY—A union speak-out against the wage freeze was held Sept. 2 at the Berkeley campus of the University of California, sponsored by the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

About 150 persons attended, making the speak-out one of the largest political meetings on the campus this summer. Representatives from the American Federation of Teachers, United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, and the striking International Longshoremen's union brought home the deep opposition of their unions to the wage freeze and made clear that it is workers, both organized and unorganized, who are being victimized by what Herb Mills of the ILWU described as a "brazen piece of class legislation."

Herb Mills and Bob Johnson, both selected by the ILWU Local 10 strike committee as representatives to the meeting, took the opportunity to speak out against the wage freeze and explain the demands and background of the 10-week-old longshore strike. The statement that has been repeated by the ranks and the leadership of the ILWU was again stressed: "We will not go back to work without a vote on the contract, and it will include a wage increase. Our union will break the wage freeze."

Jeff Mackler, representative of the California American Federation of Teachers to the National Peace Action Coalition and a vice-president of the Hayward, Calif., AFT, said, "We have actually been in the midst of a wage freeze since the beginning of the Vietnam war." He quoted government statistics showing the considerable increase in profits since the war started,

while the real wages of workers have declined over the same period.

"In order to combat this," Mackler said, "I look forward to the participation of labor in the independent mass demonstrations of the antiwar movement coming up on Nov. 6."

Domingo Ortiz, an organizer for UFWOC, called for freezing Nixon, not wages. He pointed out that the so-called price freeze openly excludes agricultural products. This will mean that there are no restrictions at all on the price of farm products, while the wages of the underpaid, overworked farm workers are frozen.

Margaret Cunningham, AFSCME organizer, went over the experience of University of California workers with freezes. Employment in the California university system was frozen last December. This has caused serious problems with speed-up for the remaining workers. The problem has been inten-

sified by recent state budget cuts, amounting to as much as 10 percent in some departments. These cuts have been taken out directly on the workers with large-scale layoffs. The university administration has announced that it interprets the wage freeze as a freeze on merit raises and normal promotions to higher-paid positions.

The SMC prepared thousands of leaflets for the meeting. Headed by the slogan "No wage freeze for Nixon's war," the leaflets contained the statement urging participation in the fall antiwar offensive that was issued one week later by NPAC with the signatures of more than 100 labor officials around the country. Distribution of the leaflets was organized for plant gates, union meetings, and the Alameda County AFL-CIO Labor Day picnic.

U.S.-Saigon forces launch new offensive

By DICK ROBERTS

SEPT. 8—A massive U.S.-Saigon attack, apparently aimed at Laos, was launched yesterday. "The South Vietnamese force, totaling about 12,000 infantrymen, marines, and rangers, is backed by United States helicopters, artillery and B-52 bombers," according to the Sept. 8 *New York Times*.

South Vietnamese troops in this invasion were being transported by U.S. helicopters, CBS-TV news reported Sept. 7.

U.S. bombers, artillery and off-shore naval vessels have been bombing the southern part of North Vietnam and the DMZ for the last three weeks.

This new attack shows that the Nixon administration and its cohorts in Saigon still hope for a military victory against the Indochinese revolution.

On Sept. 2, the United States military command in Saigon issued its weekly list of U.S. casualties, which is carried every Thursday by the Associated Press wire service.

This dispatch reported that 19 Americans were killed in the previous week.

● 9,742 GIs have died in "noncombat" situations since January 1961.

● The total of GI deaths in the Southeast Asian war—as of Sept. 2, 1971—is 55,213. The total number of GIs killed or wounded is 356,669.

Every single device that the best brains of Democratic and Republican party officials can come up with has been used to draw the attention of Americans away from the continuing slaughter in Southeast Asia. The latest recruit to this effort is Senator George McGovern, who promised not to raise the war issue in his campaign but to focus on the wage freeze—which McGovern believes came too late.

Meanwhile, the Nixon administration has discovered a new virtue in Saigon dictator Nguyen Van Thieu's "electoral" policies. The following statement was issued by the San Clemente, Calif., "White House" Sept. 2:

"Apparently the president [Thieu] has decided to proceed with the election on Oct. 3 following the withdrawal of his two political rivals. In the absence of these contestants, he has apparently decided that he will modify [the elec-



Tran Tuan Nham, anti-Thieu candidate beaten up for holding a demonstration.

"It was the seventh consecutive week that the total Americans killed in combat was below 20," according to AP.

Despite such attempts to pretty up the situation in Vietnam, the attack which opened yesterday is a grim reminder that the war continues, now in its second decade. The following statistics, which are not reported every week, tell a different story. They have been compiled from U.S. military reports:

● 4,524 GIs have been killed in combat since April 1970 when Nixon ordered the invasion of Cambodia.

● 9,078 GIs have been killed in combat since Nixon announced the first U.S. troop withdrawal and his "Vietnamization" plan.

● 14,092 GIs have been killed in combat since Nixon was inaugurated with his "secret peace plan."

● 20,778 GIs have been killed in combat since the Paris "peace talks" opened in 1968.

● 45,471 GIs have been killed in combat since the Vietnam "police action" began in January 1961.

tion] to a vote of confidence.

"That suggests he is obviously attempting to introduce an element of popular choice to the election."

While the capitalist press has carried a number of articles on this election farce, it has given totally inadequate coverage of what increasingly appears to be a major rebellion of the South Vietnamese people against the election fraud and against the U.S. backers of it.

The Sept. 10 issue of *Life* magazine, for example, carries a picture of Tran Tuan Nham, a candidate in opposition to the Thieu regime, who was beaten up for holding a demonstration. Nham had campaign posters which depicted Nixon with a Hitler-style moustache.

According to *Life*, "With [Nham's] loss [in the election], he is in real trouble, facing a military trial for disturbing national security." *Life* also carried a picture of the Saigon National Assembly building, guarded by a barrier, heavy chains, and barbed wire.

NOW convention debates support to abortion campaign

By JEAN Y. TUSSEY

LOS ANGELES—The fifth annual conference of the National Organization for Women, which met in Los Angeles Sept. 4-6, marked a new stage in the women's movement.

More than 500 registered members and another 100 observers participated in intensive discussions and debate, clarifying areas of agreement or difference on many controversial issues.

Six issues which the voting members decided—by adoption, rejection or non-action on resolutions or recommendations from chapters, workshops or the outgoing national board of directors—were the following:

● Adopted, for the first time, an official national policy that: "We, as feminists, seek to bring a universal end to war . . . and call for the immediate end to the military conflict in Indochina."

● Rejected the Nixon administration's wage freeze and called on women and the labor movement to formulate a more effective and equitable program for combating inflation. The convention also condemned the existing government program as one that "favors the interests of profit receivers over wage earners," and "freezes the existing wage structure with all its many inequities, and in particular those which discriminate against women."

● Adopted as national policy for the first time a resolution that "NOW recognizes the double oppression of women who are lesbians," that "a woman's right to her person includes the right to define and express her own sexuality and to choose her own life style," and that "NOW acknowledges the oppression of lesbians as a legitimate concern of feminism."

● Adopted a number of resolutions on political action, including a resolution to endorse the Women's National Political Caucus and to work together with the Caucus on common aims. NOW has a stated policy of functioning as a nonpartisan, independent feminist political force.

● No action on resolutions for and against support by national NOW for the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) and the Nov. 20 abortion repeal demonstrations in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco.

● Rejected a resolution to condemn the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

A recommendation that NOW withhold support from the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition was reported to the plenary following the keynote address Sept. 4. It was the sole recommendation from a special meeting of the outgoing national board of directors held the night before.

It was debated in the workshop on "reproduction and its control" in conjunction with a resolution urging support of WONAAC. The resolution to support WONAAC had been submitted in advance and according to conference rules by the Berkeley chapter of NOW but was, without explanation, omitted from delegates' kits.

Berkeley proposal

The Berkeley proposal resolved that: "The National Organization for Women supports the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition to coordi-

nate a national abortion law repeal campaign including legislation, legal action, speak-outs, etc., and demonstrations on Nov. 20 in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco for the repeal of all abortion laws, against forced sterilization and for repeal of all restrictive contraception laws."

In the workshop debate, the motivation for the support resolution was that it implements NOW's position against restrictions on women's rights and in favor of working in coalitions for those ends.

The motivation for a counterresolution, to withhold support, introduced in the workshop by Jim Clapp of New York, was the alleged control of the abortion coalition by women from the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, and manipulation of the coalition by them for purposes contrary to those expressed.

Injected into the heated discussion was a report that the workshop on politics, meeting in the next room, had adopted a resolution condemning the SWP and YSA. Many of the women from the politics workshop then joined the reproduction workshop to vote against the Berkeley resolution and for the resolution against support for the abortion coalition.

However, this workshop resolution against support was not adopted by plenary session of the conference. It was not even reported out by the resolutions committee when the other reproduction workshop resolutions were considered on Sept. 6, since the motivation for the resolution—that the SWP and YSA were supposedly out to control and dominate WONAAC—had been rejected earlier by the plenary.

Local NOW chapters that support WONAAC are free to continue to lend their support to the national abortion campaign.

The proposal from the politics workshop for specific censure of the SWP and the YSA for disruption and manipulation of feminist groups and coalitions "for their own partisan ends" was bitterly debated. The motion was vigorously opposed by members of Berkeley NOW as well as by many other NOW members. One woman read a facetious counterresolution that stated, in part:

"Whereas we oppose the efforts of subversive groups such as SWP, YSA, DAR, PTA, PSA, PWA, SPCA, and the Los Angeles police department to infiltrate and coopt women's issues,

"Whereas we feel threatened by rhetoric and code words, such as 'no forced sterilization,' 'imperialistic exploitation,' 'equal pay for equal work,' and 'the repeal of all abortion laws,'

"Whereas lesbians and infiltrators are incompatible with heterosexual plots. . . .

"Whereas NOW's principal goal is to propagandize American society through education, but it reserves the right to be propagandized only by approved organizations,

"Therefore, be it resolved that NOW establish a protective committee on un-American activities to be charged with guarding NOW members from exposure to outside groups."

The chair stopped her before her conclusion, ruling the motion out of order and frivolous. However, as the chair admitted, the maker of the motion had made her point.

Continued on page 22

Busing

In the United States, a tiny portion of the total national income is spent on education. Consequently, the facilities needed for providing a decent education to everyone who wants it are far from adequate. However, racist oppression has reduced the quality of education for Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican and Native American children to an especially low level.

Black people have long been fighting to end this injustice both in the North, where de facto segregation exists, and in the South, where de jure or legal segregation has existed.

The first major victory in this struggle came with the 1954 U.S. Supreme Court decision that outlawed the so-called "separate but equal" theory that had legally justified segregation for many years. In reality, "separate but equal" meant separate and inferior education for Blacks. It was a formula for enforcing inequality. Supreme Court decisions in the past three years have gone further to declare that the segregation of Black and white students must be ended, through busing of students out of neighborhood school districts if necessary.

With the opening of schools this fall, there have been demonstrations, rallies and much agitation by racist-minded white parents to oppose the busing of students to integrated schools. In Pontiac, Mich., 10 school buses were destroyed by bombs Aug. 30.

Encouraged by racist Democratic and Republican politicians, including President Nixon, white parents who participate in such activities have attempted to demagogically use the inconvenience of busing children long distances to cover up their desire to preserve the privileged educational opportunities of white students at the expense of Black students.

During the period of the long, bitter struggle for school integration, Black people have hoped that integration would be the way to better the quality of education for Black youth. They have been asserting their right to attend the better-financed formerly white schools and have been attempting to pressure white parents to support measures to improve schools in the Black communities by forcing white students to attend those schools.

However, as the struggle for school integration has proceeded, experience has convinced many Black people that busing in and of itself does not solve the essential problem—a better education for Black youth.

The main problem is that Black people still have no control over the schools their children attend. Integrated schools are as much in the hands of white society as are segregated school systems, de facto or de jure. Whites make all the rules and decisions. For this reason, desegregation has resulted in the demotion, arbitrary reassignment, and reduction in pay for Black administrators and coaches, the firing and demotion of Black teachers, discrimination against Black students through tracking systems, and large-scale expulsions and suspensions of Black students by white racist administrators. For example, of 500 Black students assigned to a 1,700-student formerly all-white upper-middle-class school in Columbia, S.C., last year, nearly one-half have been suspended or expelled.

The problem of financing schools in the Black communities was spotlighted by a recent decision of the California Supreme Court, which ruled that the funding of schools through local property taxes is unconstitutional because it discriminates against poor communities.

This decision will most likely be appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court and will stimulate considerable debate and discussion over how schools should be financed.

What is needed is a crash program to provide state and federal funds to build modern well-equipped and well-staffed schools in the Black community. The Black community must have control over these funds. It must also have control over the hiring, firing and promotion of the teaching and administrative staff, over the curriculum, over finances, and over disciplinary questions.

Busing may serve as a stop-gap measure. But whether and how Black students should be bused is up to the Black community. An overall solution to the problem of improving Black education, however, can come only with Black control of Black education with adequate financing.

Prisoner applauds Militant

I just had the great opportunity of reading your latest issue of *The Militant*. You are to be commended and applauded for your fine and very constructive newspaper.

It was a rewarding experience and insight to have read how we Americans have, and are, being exploited and oppressed by the boots of the oppressors.

I have a yearning desire to subscribe to your newspaper, but unfortunately I have no way to send you the necessary money to be a regular subscriber. Solely due to the fact that I'm "interned" here in this "camp," a prisoner whose money earnings are nil. I would be profoundly grateful if you would consider me a regular subscriber. Your constructive and truthful newspaper philosophy will one day bring justice to all people. Onward with the struggle.

G. B.

State Correctional Institution at
Huntington, Pa.

When tyranny is law

I am writing you in the hopes of getting a free subscription to your paper. Being a prisoner as I am, my funds are low and I could dig some good reading material. Thank you . . . keep the faith! Free the people! "When tyranny is law, revolution is order!"

P. B.

Purdy Prison for Women
Gig Harbor, Wash.

Prisoners in Mexico

I hope you can use the following information in some way.

It is based on an interview with two Guatemalan students who are now in jail in Mexico City. Mario Rene Solorzano and Carlos Rolando Segura both started to become politically conscious while in the United States. During 1963-67, Carlos Rolando spent time in Greenwich Village until he was summarily arrested, held incommunicado for 30 days and then expelled for being "dangerous to the country."

Mario Rene Solorzano was in Watts during 1965. There he became deeply impressed with the boldness with which especially young people threw themselves into the uprising. In 1966, he also was expelled from the United States after having gotten into a dispute with an immigration official.

Back in Guatemala, they were both involved in the student movement. During the night of July 3, 1968, they realized that the house where they kept their clandestine printing equipment had been surrounded by members of the army and police. Therefore, they sought asylum in the Mexican Embassy in Guatemala City on the following day. They did not leave the Embassy grounds until they were flown to Mexico City Aug. 6, 1968. At that time, the student movement was already going full blast, and the two men participated in mass meetings and demonstrations, although they realized they were being followed by the police.

They were arrested on Sept. 30, 1968, two days before the Tlatelolco massacre, and convicted of allegedly killing a soldier July 4, although they could prove that they had not entered the country until Aug. 6.

The court of appeals confirmed the conviction, sentencing them to 23 years each. The matter is still pending before the Supreme Court.

Their predicament is fairly grave; most of the Mexican political prisoners of the 1968 movement have been released, and it seems a reasonable possibility that the remaining twenty-one will get out in the foreseeable future. In that case these two will remain completely without the solidarity normally extended to a group of political prisoners. Given the situation, they have no chance whatsoever of surviving if they are sent back to Guatemala; they are on the "Most Wanted" list.

They feel it would help their cause if movement people all over the world wrote letters protesting their treatment to: Lic. Luis Echeverria Alvarez, Presidente de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos, Palacio Nacional, Mexico D. F., Mexico.

S. F.

Mexico, D. F., Mexico

Appeal to socialists

Your readers might not have seen the July 7th issue of *Look*. Pollster Sam Lubell finds that potential voters among the newly enfranchised youth ". . . dread most that the parties will deny them an effective choice on the war, just as, they feel, the 1968 election did. . . . Nearly a third of the Black youths interviewed said they didn't intend to vote, less because of the war than because of racial resentments. Among whites, one in ten declared definitely that he or she would not vote. Many more hedged, as in the remark, "I've registered to show I care, but I won't take the lesser of two evils."

The poll shows the youth have not been stamped into mindless anti-Nixonism, but they will drift between apathy and liberalism unless reached by socialist ideology.

It is obvious that the Socialist Workers Party will be the only left tendency running an effective campaign in 1972. The Socialist Labor Party is a sectarian museum piece; the Communist Party will run a presidential candidate but will back "progressive capitalists," a la Bella Abzug, for Congress.

I have strenuous differences with the SWP, but let me use your pages to make an appeal to all serious socialists. We must use the elections to build the foundations of a mass socialist movement. Practically speaking, this means actively helping the SWP build its campaign. To let even the most principled differences with the SWP get in the way will only prove to be dawdling sectarianism.

Leonard Brenner Glaser
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Price freeze a "big fake"

You may be interested in some comments on the wage freeze by fellow workers of mine, mostly oldtimers, at the Ford assembly plant here in Los Angeles. Carl, who is 45 now, with 23 years seniority, says that if all prices were rolled back and really kept down, then we could live with our wages—but that isn't happening.

The older workers, some near retirement, have more experience to draw upon. For example, "Swede," who is 61 with 40 years seniority, recalled, "I went through the World War II wage freeze, and if this

The Great Society

works the same way, then it's all a big fake. We couldn't switch jobs then, but big business went on making big money. We were the only ones who were hurt. And it looks like the same thing all over again."

Steve, who also remembers World War II (he is 57, with 28 years seniority), says, "Nixon is doing more for big business all the time. The big companies got their price raises in before the freeze, and now we're supposed to cooperate. It's all a put-on. And it won't end in 90 days."

Joe is a practical man. At 55 he has 25 years seniority, and he says, "We're supposed to get our contract increases in November and December. If we don't . . . I don't know . . . maybe we'll have to strike again. I don't like the idea, but it's money we have coming and I think we're entitled to it. I'll back the union on this all the way."

Jones keeps an eye on the politicians. "Nixon should have switched parties instead of Lindsay," he says. "He's doing all the things the Democrats advocate. I don't understand it. If it's going to work out, then we should go along—at least 90 days, then we'll see."

Myself, I think we'll see all right. And what we will see won't be good—unless our union takes a hand in changing the economy for the good of all workers.

H. R.
Los Angeles, Calif.

Suggestions

Because of the recent renewed interest in Chicano history, I think that it would be a good idea if *The Militant* ran articles and reviews not only on current events and books, but also on those written prior to the current radicalization.

An example of such a review would be Fred Halstead's review of *Desert Revolution* in the Fall 1962 issue of *International Socialist Review*.

Reviews like Halstead's would give many people a starting point for studying the revolutionary heritage of the Southwest and ties between the Mexican Revolution and struggles throughout the Americas.

I would also like to see an article on Mexico similar to the excellent article on Chile by Peter Camejo [*The Militant*, Aug. 6, 1971] as there are many misunderstandings about what is happening in that country.

M. H.
Austin, Texas

Looks for GI news

I am a GI stationed at Ft. Dix who will soon be discharged from the army for political activity. Could you please send me *The Militant* for six months? I would like to see more GI news in *The Militant*.

G. K.
Bronx, N. Y.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

Immature response—We've been musing over the recent report that the U. S. government has dropped an estimated 10 billion leaflets over Vietnam. Some military personnel dump bundles of as many as 100,000 on a village of 125 people. But they're not wasted. Vietnamese use them to wrap food or stuff holes in huts. Restaurants find them handy for wiping chopsticks. But what intrigued us was the report that children sometimes use them as toilet paper. Apparently as they get older, they get fussier.

Why not Pig Latin?—The State of Texas is investing \$61,000 to teach El Paso cops some elementary Spanish. The course will include various obscenities so that the cops will understand when they're being insulted.

Blurred image—The tube may be proving insufficient in developing the present generation of pre-teens into properly oriented consumers. A study funded by the national Institute of Mental Health finds that second graders have "a concrete mistrust of commercials" which develops into "a generally contemptuous attitude" by the time they reach the sixth grade.

Theology Dep't—The Archbishop of Milan said improper driving is sinful and must be confessed. He said motorists, under pain of sin, must never speed, pass where prohibited, or drive while under the influence of drink, drugs or a heavy meal. He did not disclose which of these are in the mortal category.

Pillpointing the evil—The following is from the Voice of the Unconceived *Newsletter*, as reported by the Boston Female Liberation *Newsletter*: "Orange County Chapter: The organizational meeting was held at the Disneyland Hotel. After a fine dinner of roast squab and cherry jubilee desert, our group discussed a list of priorities. . . . Jackson Wagner pointed out the decadent and permissive attitudes which have developed . . . following indiscriminate use of the so-called 'pill.' It was all too apparent to our members that long hair riots and revolutionary activity are a direct result of this drug."

Chance to drop out—Direct mail advertisers insist that people really like junk mail. To prove it, they're offering the opportunity to have your name eliminated from the lists of 1,600 associated junk mailers. All you do is write a letter indicating your wishes to the Direct Mail Advertising Ass'n., 230 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 10017. On receipt of your letter, a "simple form" will be sent to be filled out and returned. With a copy, we presume, for the Subversive Activities Control Board.

FTA—The House Appropriations Committee is weighing an Army request for \$1.2-million to research ways of providing more attractive, cheaper food for GIs. A Pentagon spokesman said the need for such research was suggested by the fact that at times 50 percent of the troops fail

to show up in mess halls at mealtime.

Box boom—The New Zealand coffin business was given added life with an Australian decision to phase out a current 20 percent import duty on New Zealand coffins. Even with the stiff duty, the New Zealand boxes were outselling Australian models by ten percent. Our report is people have been dying to get into them.

Happiness is a warm ball and chain—The Rev. Allan Snider of Los Angeles reports he's made a scientific survey which establishes that the more puritanical a couple is about sex, the happier their marriage. He said fundamentalist Christians have happier marriages than Catholics or liberal Protestants. Pentecostal marriage beds are best, he disclosed, because of a strict interpretation of the Bible—particularly the injunction that the husband is "head of the house."

Dialectician—WIN, a federal job-training project, allegedly provides welfare recipients "employment with a future." Thus far, only 20 percent of its graduates have gotten jobs—most of them menial. However, a philosophically-inclined official observed, "Even if WIN mothers go back to domestic work, they go back on a higher level."

Insurance for addicts—A sign on a cigarette machine in a Council Bluffs, Iowa, motel advises that all profits from the machine go to the American Cancer Society.

— HARRY RING

Women: The Insurgent Majority

Last week we reported on the case of Nancy Manfredonia and Bill Baird, who were arrested after a women's liberation meeting on contraception and abortion in Suffolk County, New York. They had supposedly corrupted the morals of Manfredonia's 14-month-old daughter, who was sitting on her mother's lap during part of the meeting. The *New York Times* reported that a federal judge has signed a temporary restraining order to stop police from arresting people who bring their children to lectures on contraception.

This ruling was made after the New York Civil Liberties Union sued on behalf of five mothers who were seeking an injunction against police harassment, surveillance, arrest and prosecution in case they wanted to bring their children to such meetings. The mothers argued that their constitutional rights would be violated by the type of treatment given Nancy Manfredonia.

The suit maintained that the police action against Manfredonia and Baird actually had nothing to do with concern for the welfare of the child, but rather was an attempt to intimidate people from discussing contraception and abortion in Suffolk County.

The first issue of an excellent new women's magazine is out—the *Women's Rights Law Reporter*. It's chock full of valuable information and analysis that present a thorough indictment of the way the legal system is used against women, as well as a review of the most important legal challenges against sexist policies.

This magazine can perform a special function within the women's liberation movement by providing a feminist analysis of the significance of legal decisions that affect women. For instance, this issue includes an estimation of the decisions in the *Phillips v. Martin Marietta Corporation* (Ida Phillips sued Martin Marietta Corp. for refusing her a job on the grounds that she had preschool-age children) and the *United States v. Vuitch* case (in which the U. S. Supreme Court ruled on the constitutionality of the Washington, D. C., abortion law).

The magazine reprints whole sections from the proceedings before the U. S. Supreme Court in the Phillips case, which demonstrate, better than anything I've seen, the sexist prejudices of the courts. Throughout the proceedings, the justices indulge in jokes and outbursts of laughter at the expense of women—they obviously think the whole concept of challenging sex discrimination is humorous.

At one point in the arguments, the chief justice of the

Supreme Court remarks that, "most men hire women as secretaries because they are better at it than men."

The *Women's Rights Law Reporter* also contains articles on discrimination against military women; segregation and sex tracking in the public schools; discrimination against high school women in sports, dress codes, and through expulsion for pregnancy; legal persecution of poor women; women in prison; discrimination against women lawyers; and laws that make it possible to persecute women, old people and homosexuals through classing them as "mentally ill."

Subscriptions to the bimonthly *Women's Rights Law Reporter* are \$12 for individuals and \$18 for lawyers. Their address is: 119 Fifth Ave., Rm. 405, New York, N. Y. 10003. A single copy of the first issue is \$2.

The newsletter *The Spokeswoman* reports on the recent convention of the National Welfare Rights Organization. It says that: "A rap session on women's liberation led by Gloria Steinem and Flo Kennedy brought the largest turnout of the entire convention and in general the identification with the women's liberation movement was strong."

A victory in Minnesota: Employers in this state must now grant working women the right to a maternity leave of up to six months, whether the employee is married or unmarried. The new sex-discrimination guidelines adopted by the Minnesota Department of Human Rights also provide that women cannot be forced to leave their jobs at any specific time during their pregnancy, and that they cannot be deprived of their seniority rights during the leave. The woman must be reinstated in her original job, or one of the same status and pay, after the leave. Furthermore, the guidelines specify that pregnancy cannot be used as grounds for not hiring a job applicant for a vacant position.

This policy, which went into effect June 22, is one of the best in the country, and it is expected that employers will challenge it in court. An important addition, however, is that women should be paid during their maternity leaves; otherwise they are forced to become dependent upon other people or on welfare during this period. A parental leave should be equally available to the father, so that the parents could decide which of them could best take off time from their work to take care of the child.

— CAROLINE LUND

Socialist candidates at Black student convention and now convention

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—The visit here of Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate, offered an encouraging preview of what can be expected when the SWP campaign moves into high gear.

Jenness came to Los Angeles to attend the convention of the National Organization for Women (NOW) and to make her campaign material available to interested convention participants. During her stay, the Los Angeles SWP and YSA organized, on short notice, a well-attended, enthusiastic campaign rally and an equally successful informal reception and social gathering.

The campaign rally filled the new SWP-YSA meeting hall. Freshly painted and decorated with campaign banners, the hall reflected the spirit of those attending. The audience included a good number of veterans of the socialist movement, but most of those attending were young people, many of whom were just being introduced to socialist ideas.

The unusually warm response to Jenness' speech made clear that the idea of a woman candidate for president is going to have a deep impact. In addition, her simple, popular explanation of socialist ideas was very well received. In a 20-minute speech, she effectively marshaled facts demonstrating that Nixon's anti-inflation program is actually a program to insure the continued profits of the capitalists at the expense of the working people.

The meeting was chaired by Prof. Morris Starsky, who gained national prominence after being witch-hunted out of Arizona State University for his socialist ideas. He described how the SWP's 1968 presidential campaign had been decisive in winning him to the socialist movement and expressed confidence that many people would be won by the 1972 campaign.

Sharing the platform with Jenness were Olga Rodriguez and Laura Moorhead. Rodriguez, a Chicana activist, expressed her conviction that significant numbers of Black and Brown youth would not be taken in by the Democratic-Republican hustle and many would support the SWP ticket.

Laura Moorhead, active in the Black liberation and feminist movements, emphasized the importance of the lowered voting age. Many capitalist politicians, she said, no doubt hope to coopt radical-minded youth and persuade them that it is possible to achieve meaningful change "from within." She too expressed confidence that significant numbers of youth would see through this and she urged those present to help initiate that process by becoming active in the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley. Thirteen signed up to join the YSJP.

In response to an appeal for campaign funds, the audience contributed more than \$500.

The next day, Linda Jenness attended the NOW convention where a campaign display room was set up.

During the course of the four-day conference, between 75 and 100 women and men came to the campaign room to meet and talk with Jenness and to obtain campaign material. After a red-baiting attack by some NOW board members on the YSA and SWP, many more women came to the room to express anger at the attack and to hear more about the election campaign. *Militant* subscriptions, campaign buttons and posters were sold, and one woman decided to join the YSA.

By LAURA MILLER

SEPT. 6—Andrew Pulley, SWP vice-presidential candidate, attended the national convention of the National Association of Black Students, held in Chicago this past week. At a special session of the convention scheduled to discuss the Black "Left," Pulley debated a member of the Young Workers Liberation League.

He exposed the YWLL's position of calling for "Black-white unity" in opposition to Black nationalism. "There is no such thing as Black-white unity until Blacks in this country organize independently, as Black people, to get what we want. We have that right—to organize independently to overcome the special oppression of our race. The position of the Communist Party and the Young Workers Liberation League on this so-called Black-white unity is really an attempt to camouflage their opposition to nationalism—opposition to the right of Blacks to organize independently for control of our own communities."

Pulley also expressed criticism of YWLL's support within the antiwar movement to the demand to "set the date." "By demanding anything less than total and immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops and materiel from Southeast Asia," he said, "you are granting concessions to the imperialists—right here in the heartland of imperialism. You are granting them this concession from a position of strength for the antiwar movement; we are the majority of Americans right now."

"The Vietnamese are under the gun; tactical concessions may be necessary on their part. But the American antiwar movement is not under the same conditions as the Vietnamese; it would be criminal for us to sell the Vietnamese out by granting this concession to the U.S. imperialists."

Pulley held a Chicago news conference on Sept. 1. Among the press attending the conference were several radio stations, including WMAQ; the *Chicago Sun-Times*; and Channel 44, a local TV station. He was interviewed on a local TV talk show, and he used his television time to discuss the recent indictment of States Attorney and Daley protege Edward V. Hanrahan in connection with the murder of Black Panther Fred Hampton. Pulley called for a mass mobilization of the Chicago Black community to demand the conviction of Hanrahan for the murder of Hampton.

Later this week, Pulley will be a guest on the Chicago radio program *Black-If*, to be aired over WLS radio.

The SWP candidates



Linda Jenness

Linda Jenness, 30, was born in El Reno, Okla. Her family traveled considerably and until she was 21 her legal residence was Pembroke, Ga. In her childhood, she spent three years living in Bolivia. Following graduation from high school in Hampton, Va., she majored in history at Antioch College, during which time she spent a summer studying in Mexico. After leaving school, she taught for a year in Spain. When she returned to the U.S. she worked as a secretary.

Jenness first began to radicalize as a result of the Cuban missile crisis in 1962. She joined the Young Socialist Alliance in 1966. She worked for Merit Publishers (predecessor to Pathfinder Press) in New York in 1968, and in September of that year represented the YSA at the 100th anniversary celebration of the Puerto Rican independence movement in Lares, Puerto Rico. In 1969, she was a member of a YSA delegation to the tenth anniversary commemoration of the Cuban revolution in Havana.

Linda Jenness was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Atlanta in 1969 and the party's candidate for governor of Georgia the following year. In these campaigns, she pioneered in bringing socialist politics into the South.

Jenness has also been active in the antiwar movement. She served as an officer of the Washington, D.C., Mobilization Committee in 1967 and was a member of the steering committee of the Atlanta Mobilization Committee in 1969-1970. She spoke for the Socialist Workers Party at the April 24, 1971, antiwar demonstration in San Francisco.

With the rise of the feminist movement, Linda Jenness has spoken widely on women's liberation. In the spring of this year, she toured the United States, speaking on the topic "Why Feminism is Revolutionary." She was active in the Emory University women's liberation group while in Atlanta.

Andrew Pulley

Andrew Pulley was born in Greenwood, Miss., 20 years ago. When he was 12, he moved to Cleveland, Ohio. In 1968, following the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr., he played an active role in the protest by high

school Blacks in Cleveland. School officials termed the protest a "riot" and expelled Pulley for his participation in it. He was given the choice of going to jail or going into the Army. He chose the Army.

Before long, he found himself again fighting the system. As a Black GI at Fort Jackson, S.C., he became involved in one of the first GI antiwar organizations in the country—GIs United Against the War in Vietnam. As the organization's influence spread throughout the base, and gained national attention, the Army decided to crack down on it, arrested its main leaders, and threatened to court-martial them. Pulley thus became one of the defendants in the celebrated case of the Fort Jackson Eight. He spent 60 days in the stockade before a well-publicized defense campaign brought about his release and discharge from the Army.

In 1970, Andrew Pulley ran for U.S. Congress from California's 7th C.D. on the Socialist Workers Party ticket. During his campaign, he toured India, Ceylon, Japan, the Philippines, Australia and New Zealand, speaking on the growing radicalization in the United States and helping to increase international support for the nationwide antiwar demonstrations scheduled for last fall. He also flew to South Vietnam in an effort to speak to GIs about the war. He was not allowed to get off the plane, on orders from the U.S. Embassy.

The Sept. 3 Militant carried a special four-page feature on the launching of the Socialist Workers Party 1972 presidential election campaign. This special supplement can be ordered in quantity—100 for \$1.50; 500 for \$6—from the Socialist Workers Campaign, 706 Broadway, 8th floor, N.Y., 10003. Tel. (212) 260-4150.

Since his discharge from the Army, Pulley has remained active in the antiwar movement. He has served as coordinator of the Black and Brown Task Force to End the War in Vietnam, and he addressed the giant April 24, 1971, antiwar rally in Washington, D.C., as a spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party.

Following his congressional campaign last year, Pulley worked as a switchman in the Chicago rail yards.



CP announces 1972 presidential ticket

By DOUG JENNESS

On Aug. 25, only 13 days after the Socialist Workers Party launched its 1972 presidential campaign, the Communist Party announced a ticket for the 1972 elections—Gus Hall, 61, for president, and Jarvis Tyner, 30, for vice-president. Hall is general secretary of the CP and Tyner is president of the Young Workers Liberation League.

This is only the second time since 1940 that the CP has put up a presidential ticket. The last time was in 1968 when it ran Charlene Mitchell and Mike Zagarell. Their 1968 campaign was a low-key effort with a late launching date and ballot status in only two states.

When the CP runs candidates for political office it is not part of a policy to promote a break with capitalist politics and parties but is rather an extension of their reformist policy of supporting candidates in these parties, especially liberal Democrats. The CP candidates use their campaigns to help support "progressive" Democrats for Congress and local offices as well as supporting "lesser evil" Democrats for president. Because there is a significant number of politicalizing youth who are looking for alternatives to the Democratic and Republican parties, the CP attempts to adapt to this sentiment by giving the appearance of being independent of these parties and by running candidates who are formally independent of them.

The success that the Socialist Workers Party has had with both its local and national election campaigns in influencing and winning to its ranks new members has also put considerable pressure on the CP to run its own candidates. The CP's campaigns, however, are just a left cover for their real policy of hustling support for capitalist liberals, usually under the guise of defeating "reactionary" capitalist candidates.

This policy is not new. It was adopted by the CP in 1936, shortly after the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern, when Moscow handed down the line that all Communist parties should form popular fronts with "progressive" capitalists in their countries.

Earl Browder, who was the chief leader of the CP at that time, in an article written many years later ("The American Communist Party in the Thirties" in *As We Saw the Thirties*, ed. Rita James Simon), stated: "... I

headed a delegation to Moscow to consult with the Comintern about the elections. Upon arriving we were informed by Georgi Dimitroff, the Bulgarian who had become general secretary at the Seventh World Congress, ... that the Comintern leaders were all firmly of the opinion that the American Communist Party should endorse Roosevelt's candidacy and put up no candidate of its own. My permanent (but usually secret) opposition in America, William Z. Foster (supported by Sam Darcy), immediately agreed with the proposal. I flatly opposed it, and proposed a thorough discussion before decision, the rest of

candidate would switch to Norman Thomas or even the Socialist Labor Party. ... The final conclusion of the Comintern was 'to leave the matter to the decision of the American comrades,' where I had no difficulty in carrying the decision my way. Thus I became the logical Communist presidential candidate and made my ambiguous campaign in favor of 'my rival,' Roosevelt."

Support for Roosevelt was mustered by the CP with the slogan "Defeat Landon [the Republican candidate] at all costs!"

In 1968 the CP took a three-



The Communist Party's presidential ticket, Gus Hall (right) and Jarvis Tyner, is seen by the CP as a way of giving left cover to their backing of capitalist candidates in the 1972 elections.

the delegation withholding their opinion. After two weeks of discussion, I remained obdurate, and advanced my final argument that if we really wished to assure Roosevelt's reelection we would not endorse him because that would cause him to be labeled 'the Communist candidate' by the newspapers, most of which opposed him. This would lose him many times as many votes from the 'Right' as it would bring him from the 'Left,' for a net loss that would mean his defeat if the vote were close. On the other hand we could put up our own candidate but conduct such a campaign that would assure Roosevelt all votes under our influence except the die-hard opponents of all 'capitalist' candidates, who without a Communist

pronged approach: support to Eugene McCarthy's campaign inside the Democratic Party, support to the Peace and Freedom Party campaign of Dick Gregory, and support to its own ticket.

Toward the end of the campaign, when McCarthy threw his support to Humphrey and the labor bureaucrats began to mobilize backing for him, this was viewed as a progressive development in the pages of the *Daily World*.

Its 1972 campaign represents the same form of trickery the CP has employed in all its campaigns since 1936. It only remains to be seen which "progressive" capitalist candidates the CP will be supporting in this election.

When Hall and Tyner announced their campaign, they issued a statement that filled over a page of the Aug. 26 *Daily World*. Although they will probably modify it to demagogically adjust to criticisms and pressures from the mass movements and radicalizing youth, this first statement is very revealing about the nature of their campaign. There is not one word about the need for breaking with capitalist politics or building the mass independent movements, including the fall antiwar offensive and the campaign to repeal all antiabortion laws.

"Nixon-Agnew-Hoover and Mitchell," the statement says, "lead the attack to destroy the democratic rights of all Americans." Not one word about the role of the Democratic Party in attacking democratic rights. Not one word about the reactionary nature of the Democratic Party as a party owned and controlled by the capitalist class.

The statement also gives scanty attention to the struggle of Black Americans, and there is no call for the right of Black people to control their own communities and schools.

There is only one demand included for Chicanos and Puerto Ricans—an end to job discrimination—not one word on the right of Chicanos and Puerto Ricans to control their own communities.

Despite the length of the statement, there is not one demand raised for women. Not equal pay for equal work. Not repeal of all antiabortion laws. Not free 24-hour child-care centers. Although Hall and Tyner will be forced by the pressure of the women's liberation movement, and not least of all by women members of the CP to include such demands in future statements, the fact that they were excluded from the initial statement has left a bad odor that will haunt them for the rest of their campaign.

The CP's hostility to the mass movements that have emerged in the past few years is clearly reflected in this statement. Although the two candidates have, according to the *Daily World*, pledged themselves "to advance a 'comprehensive program' to meet the needs of the youth," they would do well not to circulate this initial statement too widely among young people lest they wind up with even less support at the end of their campaign than they have now.

¡La Raza en Acción!

September 16 Mexican Independence Day celebrations are planned for many cities in Aztlan.

In San Antonio, Texas, a week-long "Semana de La Raza" will begin Sept. 11 with a march and rally at which Corky Gonzales of the Crusade for Justice and Jose Angel Gutierrez of the Crystal City, Texas, Raza Unida Party will speak.

Aside from cultural activities, including concerts, ballet and theater performances, a service will be held in honor of Ruben Salazar, the *Los Angeles Times* columnist who was gunned down Aug. 29, 1970 by L. A. cops during the Chicano Moratorium against the war in Vietnam.

Widespread police brutality recently resulted in a major explosion of the Puerto Rican community in Waterbury, Conn.

The incident, reported in the Aug. 22 *New York Times*, occurred when 25 riot-helmeted policemen suddenly showed up at a wedding reception in a social club where a trivial argument was taking place. Tensions grew when a bottle was hurled at one of the cops, which resulted in 40 people being arrested, including by-standers.

Witnesses who later testified against the police before the mayor and Board of Police Commissioners reported similar cases of police provocation, beatings and indiscriminate use of chemical mace. Two young men showed dark red bruises inflicted by the police.

Following the pattern of most Puerto Rican communities, Waterbury's Puerto Rican population suffers lack of housing and extensive unemployment. These conditions have sparked eruptions in Puerto Rican communities throughout the East Coast in the last few months, including Camden and Hoboken, N. J.

A recent issue of *Carta Internacional*, a publication of the MPI (Movimiento Pro-Independencia—Puerto Rican Independence Movement), announced that the judicial proceedings on the case of Ruben Soto Falcon and Gervacio Morales began in August.

Falcon is the president and Morales the vice-president of the Federation of University Students for Independence (FUPI). FUPI has led major university struggles throughout the country since its founding in 1956, particularly against the drafting of Puerto Rican youth into the U. S. armed forces. Recently, it forced the University of Puerto Rico administration to remove ROTC from the campus. As a result, the government has initiated a witch-hunting campaign against FUPI.

Falcon and Morales have been framed on fabricated charges of having planted explosive devices in North American-owned businesses, even though it has been confirmed by more than 15 witnesses that the two were directing a meeting of the Executive Commission of FUPI several miles away at the time the incident occurred. The two now face up to 20 years imprisonment.

Attempting to show the "widespread" discontent among the citizens of Crystal City, Texas, since La Raza Unida Party took control, an article in the Aug. 25 *San Antonio News* records the opinion of none other than Ted Munoz, who ran against LRUP candidates in the April elections, and that of one Rev. Paul Vasquez, the associate pastor of the predominantly Anglo First Baptist Church.

Disgusted with the present situation, Rev. Vasquez explains to the *San Antonio News*: "In the classes my kids are in, there's all this 'Viva La Raza' stuff. In the cafeteria it's boycott lettuce unless it's union lettuce. ... It's not ethnic pride, but a separatist feeling."

—MIRTA VIDAL

The Vietnam war and the U.S. economy

The following are the first two sections of the Political Resolution adopted at the 24th national convention of the Socialist Workers Party held Aug. 8-12, 1971. The draft of this resolution was approved by a plenum of the SWP's national committee in March of this year and then submitted to the party's preconvention discussion.

The resolution outlines the factors inherent in the world economic situation that are impelling the ruling class to seek to drive down the standard of living of the workers and helps to explain what's behind Nixon's wage freeze.

It points out that, in the context of a continuation of the Vietnam war, "only two basic options are left to the ruling class if inflation is to be a successful tool to hold down the American working class's real share of the national product: move toward a national 'incomes policy,' that is, a national wage-control scheme that would give the government authority to hold down wage gains aimed at catching up with the inflationary bite; or precipitate a recession deep enough to result in a large enough increase in the industrial reserve army to drive down these wage demands."

The resolution indicates that the Nixon administration had at first leaned toward relying on the recession (which it had helped precipitate), but that this had not worked and was not likely to work unless Nixon permitted the recession to deepen to a point where massive unemployment could trigger a sharp political response by the working class.

The Nixon administration decided to switch tactics. It opted for the first alternative outlined in the SWP resolution, an "incomes policy." This the resolution indicates "could provoke a major reaction by the working class, one taking place in the framework of the general political radicalization that has been developing in the country."

I. American imperialism's basic contradictions:

The February 1971 invasion of Laos reconfirmed that the basic strategy of the Nixon administration remains the same as that followed by Johnson's: to attempt to win a military victory of such scope as to decisively crush the will of the Vietnamese revolutionary forces. No alternative, including a compromise with the Vietnamese, would avoid the deleterious effects to American imperialism of the victory of the Vietnamese revolutionary forces in South Vietnam. Nixon is driven in this direction because the basic relationship of forces in Indochina faced by the previous occupant of the White House remains unchanged.

The depth, extent, and independence of the mass upsurge in Vietnam are so great that neither Moscow, Peking

nor even Hanoi (if it so desired) have been able to turn the Vietnamese revolution into a mere pawn to be bargained away in a broader diplomatic deal with imperialism, as in 1954. Because of its class character, no Saigon regime—coalition or not—acceptable to Washington, could grant the substantive and large-scale economic, social and political concessions to the Vietnamese masses necessary to maintain itself in power in the face of this revolutionary upsurge. Only the presence of American military power prevents the triumph of the Vietnamese national liberation struggle.

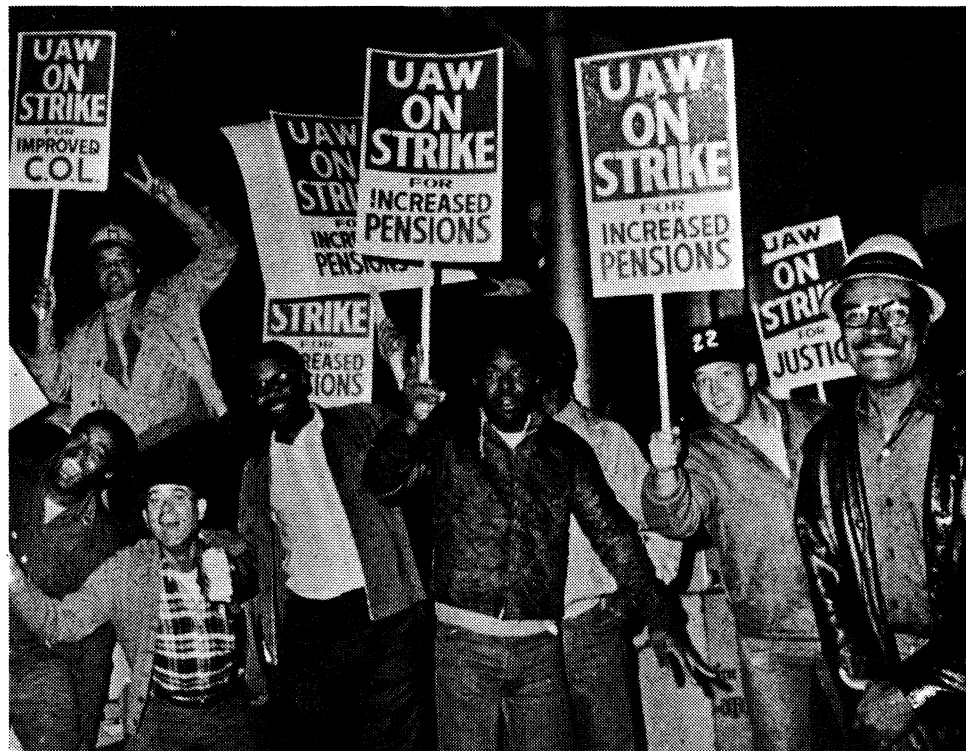
The massive growth of antiwar sentiment in the United States forced Johnson to halt the bombing of North Vietnam and initiate the Paris talks. Johnson's objective was to temporize by making concessions to antiwar sentiment while continuing the fighting, in the hope that, given time, American military power could crush the revolutionary upsurge and force the Vietnamese to accept the kind of regime in South Vietnam desired by imperialism. Nixon inherited this situation. To gain support and buy more time he had to promise the American people that he had a plan to end the war. His plan turned out to be "Vietnamization," i.e., the stabilization of the Thieu-Ky regime and the establishment of the South Vietnamese army (ARVN) as a replacement for U. S. troops.

Cambodia and Laos

In the period of massive buildup of American troops, Johnson promised that increasing American military power would quickly lead to "pacification" of the Vietnamese. This did not gain credence; but Nixon's professed perspective has led many Americans to believe that he is trying to end the war. Thus, Nixon's time-buying promises can finally prove more explosive than Johnson's as the American people demand fulfillment of this pledge.

"Vietnamization" has not worked. The time bought by Nixon's demagogic maneuvers has not enabled the U. S. military machine and its puppet ally to break the resistance of the Vietnamese masses. It was this failure that led Nixon to decide on the plunge into Cambodia in May 1970. The unparalleled outburst of antiwar sentiment in the U. S. forced Washington to pull back its troops from Cambodia; but the war, through increasing U. S. air bombardment and periodic ARVN invasions, had now been extended into Cambodia. This only broadened the scope of U. S. involvement in Indochina to include underwriting the Lon Nol regime. It did not succeed in compelling the Vietnamese to knuckle under in the least.

With his troop withdrawal timetable pressing upon him, Nixon decided on a new plunge in February 1971, this time into Laos. But the military fiasco



Detroit GM strikers last September

of the "crack" ARVN units drove home to millions of Americans what an illusion and fraud "Vietnamization" was. The reality that the war with all its dangers was being extended, not shortened, became clearer than ever.

The logic of "Vietnamization" has not been withdrawal but the expansion of the war to Cambodia and Laos. This expansion in turn broadened the Indochinese revolution, and created in Cambodia and Laos the same problem for the U. S. that it has faced for years in Vietnam. Each expansion of the war and each new plunge heightens the possibility of increasing the military pressure to such a degree as to bring China into the conflict, as happened in Korea in 1951.

U. S. imperialism faces a harsh dilemma. Today, it is still no closer to forcing capitulation of the insurgent forces, let alone establishing the ARVN as an instrument capable of doing this, than it was before "Vietnamization" began. Yet Washington has promised the American people the steady withdrawal of American forces. If this withdrawal were actually carried out in a large-scale way with the Vietnamese revolution still unsubdued, it would constitute the biggest defeat for U. S. imperialism in its history, and would give the world revolution a powerful additional impetus. Thus a dangerous mood is to be seen in Washington, with Nixon casting about in desperation for a fast military solution through some combination of U. S. and Saigon military forays while he stalls off any large-scale withdrawals of U. S. forces. Whichever tactical course Washington follows in the next period can only increase antiwar sentiment among the GIs involved and spur a massive antiwar response at home.

For all of the above reasons, the Vietnamese revolution and the effort of U. S. imperialism to crush it remain the central issue in American and world politics.

II. The war's effect on the economy

The evolution of the world capitalist economy over the last year demonstrates that U. S. imperialism cannot afford an extended, unending war in Southeast Asia without attempting to make the working class pay for it. The best variant from the capitalist point of view would be the acquiescence of a prowar labor movement in imposing "emergency" austerity measures and controls, allegedly justified by the needs of the war. But the attitude of the working class toward the war precludes any such direct attack on the living standards of the masses without precipitating gigantic social struggles that could extend the radicalization to broad layers of workers.

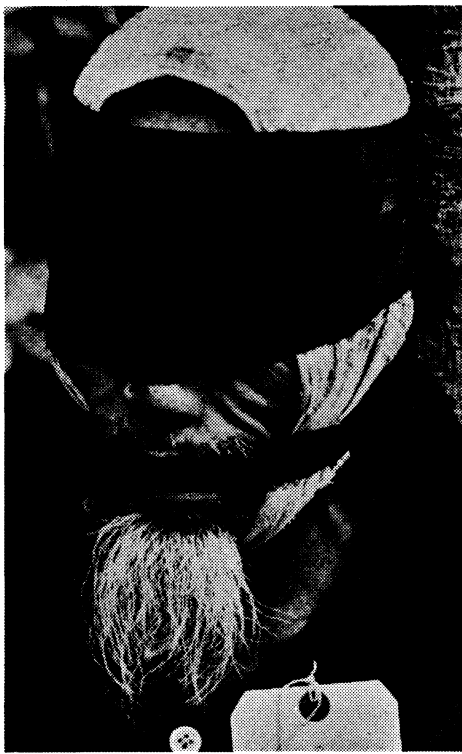
The main way in which imperialism has put the squeeze on the living standards of the working class has been through inflation. A characteristic of capitalism in its death agony, inflation in the U. S. has been exacerbated by the war expenditures. But two problems for the ruling class are built into this method of lowering the standard of living of the masses. One is the recognition by the workers of what inflation is doing to their pay checks and living conditions, and the consequent resistance evidenced in the 1970 wave of strikes in which a major issue was wage increases to catch up with the rising cost of living. The second and longer term problem is the deterioration of the relative competitive advantage of U. S. imperialism in the world market and the increasing shakiness that spiraling inflation introduces into the stability of the capitalist world monetary system. Thus there are both internal and external pressures to bring inflation under control. From an immediate, solely economic, point of view, the fastest way to slow down the rate of inflation would be to end the war in Vietnam. But this is precluded by the Nixon administration for the reasons outlined above.

Two options

Only two basic options are left to the ruling class if inflation is to be a successful tool to hold down the American working class' real share of the national product: move toward a national "incomes policy," that is, a national wage-control scheme that would give the government authority to hold down wage gains aimed at catching up with the inflationary bite; or precipitate a recession deep enough to result in a large enough increase in the industrial reserve army to drive down these wage demands.

At the same time, the ruling class and its spokesmen in the mass media and universities carry out a large-scale propaganda campaign to convince the American people of the fallacious notion that the workers' attempt to defend their standard of living against the effects of capitalist inflation is the *cause* of the inflation. To the contrary, this cause is to be found in massive war expenditures and the gigantic public debt, the monopolistic price structure derived from the continuing capitalist concentration and centralization under the spur of growing international competition, and the various government financial outlays necessary to protect monopoly profits and underwrite the research and development of the giant corporations.

Both of these alternatives contain major dangers for the ruling class. An attempt to impose an "incomes policy" could provoke a major reaction by the working class, one taking place in the framework of the general political radicalization that has been developing in the country. A policy



of fostering a recession of sufficient scope to increase unemployment enough to put effective pressure on wages contains two dangers. First, it could precipitate or coincide with recessions in the other major capitalist countries. These could then snowball into an uncontrolled world recession. Secondly, it could provoke a sharp political reaction by the working class against the threat of massive unemployment.

The Nixon administration leaned toward the second course, adopting fiscal and monetary measures that facilitated the 1970 recession. This policy resulted in the highest unemployment in a decade, officially over six percent. The first recession in a decade featured *both* increasing unemployment and continued inflation.

But the strength of the unions and the combativity of the working class demonstrated that higher levels of unemployment than this are necessary to effectively dampen the workers' willingness to fight for wage increases to try to keep up with the rise in the cost of living. In spite of the rise in unemployment, workers intensified their struggle to defend their standard of living, as was seen in the General Electric and auto strikes, in the Teamsters negotiations and wildcat strikes, in the combativity of the railroad workers, in the postal workers' struggles and in the demands now being put forward by the steelworkers. The UAW reasserted its demand for an escalator clause, which the bureaucrats had allowed to be gutted in past negotiations, and won back part of the escalator clause protections they had bargained away in 1967.

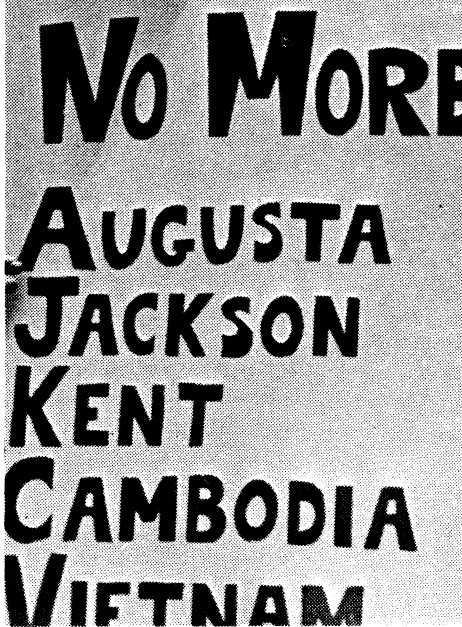
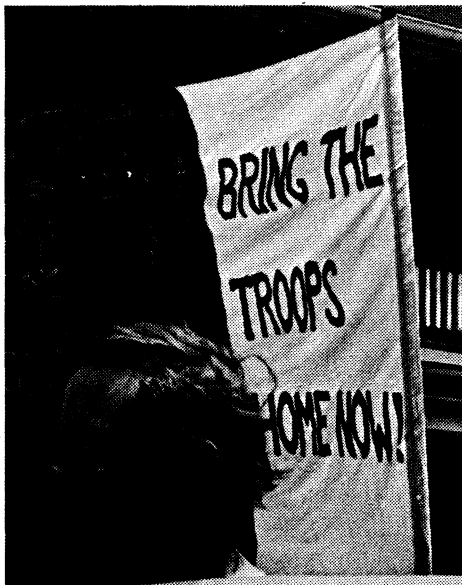
The anxiety about rising unemployment and the resistance to any broad wage-price controls indicate the political obstacles standing in the way of another move contemplated by the ruling class: that of opening a legislative and administrative attack on the power of the unions themselves. Although the ruling class knows this will be necessary at some point, it is deterred from resorting to it now because it could precipitate a political showdown with the union movement and touch off an explosion beyond the power of the bureaucracy to control.

International competition

The foundation of American capitalism's economic supremacy is being undermined by the growing capacity of European and Japanese imperialism to narrow the difference between it and the U. S. in labor productivity. It was this differential, established as a result of the large-scale destruction of German and Japanese capitalism in the Second World War, the exhaustion of British imperialism, and the extraordinary extension of the post-war boom, that made the wide gap between American and Euro-Japanese labor tolerable and helped to provide the resources the U. S. rulers could use

for social reform. Under the new conditions, the threat of trade wars, international monetary crises, and concurrent recessions in the major capitalist countries has increased. Regardless of the timing or the scope of such events, which are unpredictable, the intensification of interimperialist competition on the world market means that the American monopolists must find a way to narrow this wage differential. This can be done only by attacks on the wage gains, standard of living, organizations and rights of the American workers. In the current turbulent political atmosphere such attacks can result in immense struggles and rapid radicalization of a decisive section of the American workers.

Substantial social reforms and concessions can be wrested from the ruling class in the struggles that lie ahead. But the intensification of competition on an international scale, coupled with the costs of maintaining Washington's role of world policeman for imperialism, closes the door to American capitalism granting any long-term series of social reforms large enough to decisively reverse the radicalization of increasing sections of the American people set in motion by the social struggles of the last decade.



By Any Means Necessary

The first national organization of Black judges was set up at the Aug. 3-7 annual meeting of the National Bar Association in Atlanta. The NBA is predominately Black and is composed of lawyers, judges and law professors. It originated out of the racist exclusion of Blacks from the American Bar Association. At present, the ABA has formally retreated from such exclusion.

But the formation of the Judicial Council, the all-Black organization of judges, reflects the pressures generated by the widespread nationalist consciousness in the Black community.

Over 135 judges helped set up the JC, and they selected Judge George W. Crockett of Detroit as chairman. Judge Crockett is one of five Blacks sitting on the Records Court bench in Detroit. He achieved national attention on March 29, 1969, when he released most of the 142 members of the Republic of New Africa arrested by police. Crockett took this measure because he found that their constitutional rights had been denied. The 142 were taken in a police raid on an RNA convention.

The JC plans to campaign for the appointment of Black judges in the South. Of the 19 Black federal judges, only one sits west of the Mississippi River and none in the South. In all of the municipal, state and federal courts of the land, there is only a meager total of 285 Black judges.

Besides the formation of the JC, the NBA also passed a resolution pledging \$2,500 to assist in the defense of Sister Angela Davis. Her chief attorney, Howard Moore Jr., is a member of the NBA.

Black Catholics I: At a week-long annual meeting in Pittsburgh which ended Aug. 20, the National Black Sisters Convention decided to push for Black control of parochial schools in particular and Black control of the Black community in general.

There are 350 predominantly Black schools among nearly 10,000 Catholic schools in the country. And the Black nuns want to help organize community control of those 350.

As an example of what they want, the nuns cited St. Joseph's, an elementary school in the Roxbury ghetto of Boston. There, according to the Aug. 21 *New York Times*, "A 15-member parent board . . . makes final decisions on major matters such as teacher selection and curriculum. The 230 pupils work at their own pace within three levels that together cover grades one through eight. . . . There were no religion courses—only a 'values' course—since most of the children are not Catholic."

The teachers, parents, and students of St. Joseph's attended the convention and staged a Black awareness program. The program was one of three models of "decolonization institutes."

The NBSC is three years old, and embraces a third of the 800 Black nuns in the country. There are 140,000 nuns in all.

Black Catholics II: The National Black Catholic Lay Caucus and National Black Catholic Clergy Caucus concluded a weekend conference Aug. 22. The theme of the conference was: "Black first, Catholic second," and it was dedicated to Sister Angela Davis. About 1,600 attended the gathering held at the University of Detroit, a Catholic school.

One result of the conference was the selection of a committee to investigate the possibilities of setting up a Black American Catholic church with direct connections to Rome. This would relieve Black Catholics of having to go through what they described as the American "power structure."

The conference also chose 10 candidates from whom it hopes will come the first Black archbishop in charge of an American archdiocese. The post to be filled was vacated by the resignation of Patrick Cardinal O'Boyle, the archbishop of Washington, D. C. The names will be sent to the pope and the National Conference of Bishops.

There is presently only one Black bishop, the Most Rev. Harold Perry, the Auxiliary Bishop of New Orleans. But according to the Rev. Lawrence E. Lucas, pastor of the Church of the Resurrection in Harlem and president of the clergy group, "We are not asking for auxiliary bishops at this time. . . . Auxiliary bishops are only a plaything for the boss."

This statement, quoted in the Aug. 23 *New York Times*, was followed with the explanation that Washington was chosen because 70 percent of the population is Black. "'It doesn't have much to do with the number of Catholics in Washington. . . . It has to do with Blacks.' Father Lucas said that a Black bishop could use church funds to assist Black people in Washington by investing in Black businesses instead of 'white racist corporations.' He also said a Black bishop could exert power on what he called the 'colonial government' in Washington."

The conference ended with a mass dedicated to Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X. All raised the clenched fist, the symbol of Black power.

The conference organizers estimate that there are about one million Black Catholics, although the official Church figure is 800,000. Whatever the number, under the impact of Black nationalism, the Church will never be the same.

Of the 1,775 bus and trolley drivers in Pittsburgh, only 103 are Black. But a strike by just 49 of these Black workers captured the attention of the whole city. They and 212 white workers struck over the right to wear buttons demanding that Sister Angela Davis be freed.

The incident that started the 8-day strike occurred on Aug. 9 when a Black bus driver showed up in the Homewood garage wearing a "Free Angela Davis" button. When asked by a supervisor to take it off, he refused and was summarily suspended. Four others wearing the same button were also suspended. So the Black drivers began to picket the garage, which is in the Black community. They were joined by white workers.

Although the strike shut down the garage, Division 85 of the Amalgamated Transit Union refused to extend any support to the embattled workers. The ATU bureaucrats chose to help the boss by trying to stop the strike. Eventually the striking workers were forced to agree to submit the button issue to binding arbitration, thus ending the strike on Aug. 17.

—DERRICK MORRISON

NIXON'S OFFENSIVE=



CHINA AND



THE DOLLAR

By **GEORGE NOVACK**

When Richard Nixon took office, few people from the right or the left expected him to be an audacious or innovative chief executive. As the choice of the more conservative capitalist party, he was known to be a cautious politician who surrounded himself with other Wall Street lawyers.

Yet now he has abruptly taken two bold initiatives that change the diplomatic and economic course of the United States over the past quarter of a century. His prospective trip to Peking reverses the line pursued in Asia since Truman's administration. His turnabout in economic policy has scrapped the international monetary structure that has undergirded capitalist dealings since the Bretton Woods agreement of 1944.

What accounts for these drastic decisions that have startled world opinion? The explanation is not to be found in any personality change in the president, who remains as coldly calculating and colorless a character as before, but rather in the shifting trends in the world situation, which have exerted irresistible pressures upon him as the principal administrator of the affairs of America's monopolist rulers.

Nixon's economic measures are an emergency response to these overwhelming forces. They reveal how serious the economic difficulties of the U.S. are; these brought his administration to the brink of the gravest financial crisis since the banks closed in 1933. As the president conferred with his advisers at Camp David, they faced the combination of continuing inflation and widening unemployment, high interest rates, a monetary supply explosively expanding at the annual rate of 12 percent from January to July, a sluggish growth rate of the U.S. economy, and lots of strikes. The balance of trade showed its first deficit since 1893. The rest of the world had lost confidence in the value of the dollar and a massive flight from it was going on in the international money markets.

The dollar had tumbled from its lofty perch. It was no longer as good as gold. Like other currencies, it was worth only what it could bring on the money market—and that was from 10 to 15 percent less than it was officially pegged at.

For many months Nixon had stubbornly clung to the illusion that the economy was moving toward price stability and quickened industrial expansion. Suddenly it was driven home that the situation was far worse than he imagined or the public was aware. The imminent threat of an uncontrollable run on the dollar that would melt away the \$10-billion gold reserve at Fort Knox had brought the country close to the danger point.

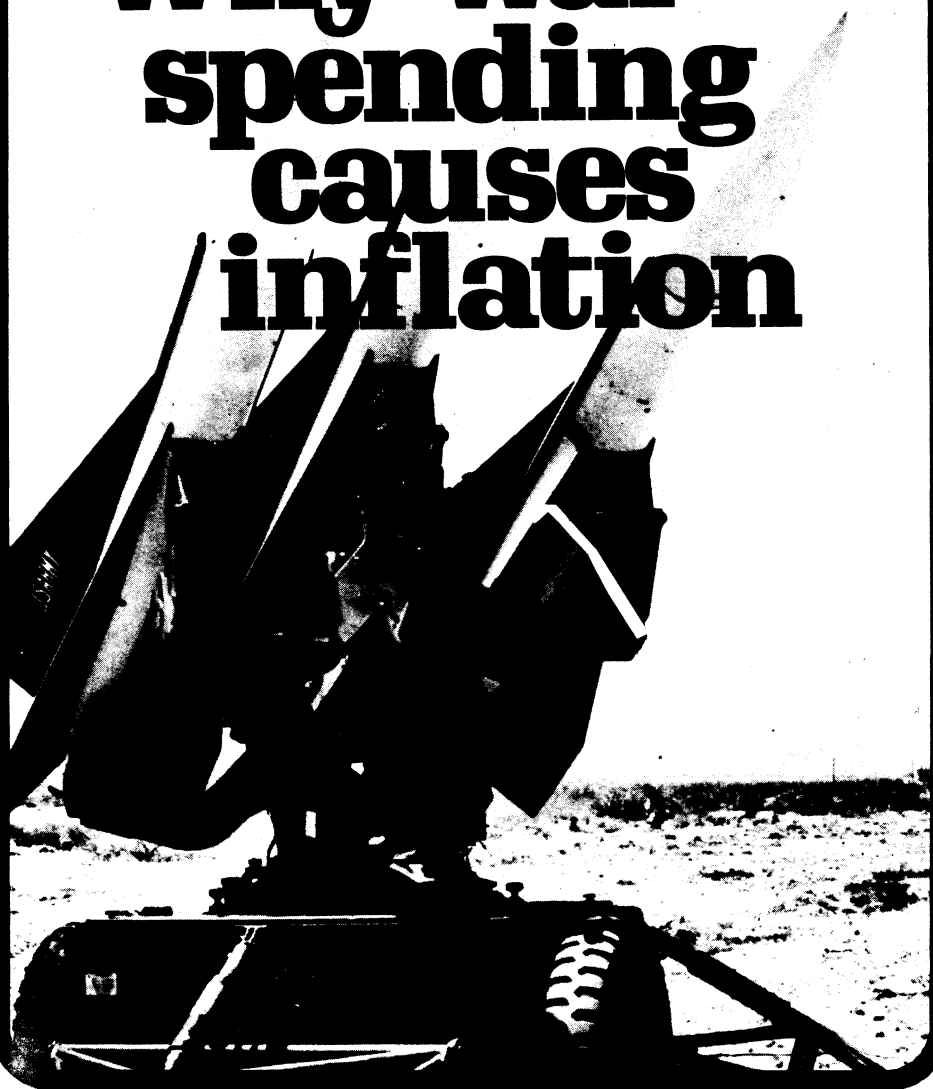
The dollar's downfall precipitated Nixon's brusque moves. Remembering the fate of Herbert Hoover, who refused to recognize the depth of an earlier economic decline, Nixon roused himself from complacency and improvised a series of measures to turn back the tide running against the U.S. He imposed controls that only a few weeks before he and other leading administration spokesmen had sworn were harmful and unthinkable.

Wage freeze

In defense of U.S. capitalist interests, the president has launched a trade war against Japan and West Europe along with an offensive against the living standards of the American workers. The wage freeze, which is destined to raise the profitability of the corporations by crippling the collective bargaining power of the workers, spearheads his program on the domestic front. The other parts of the package—the tax reductions, investment credits, and cut in federal employment—take a secondary place.

Wage-freezing is no new device. It was applied by Roosevelt during the Second World War and by Truman during the Korean War, bringing about profit bonanzas for the bosses. The only difference is that the Democratic presidents instituted wage con-

Why war spending causes inflation



By **DICK ROBERTS**

What causes inflation? According to the public statements of President Nixon, the top leaders of the Democratic and Republican parties, and the capitalist news media, "higher wages cause inflation."

Their argument is that if workers get higher wages, corporations must respond by raising prices. The result is a "wage-price-spiral inflation." Nixon's 90-day "wage-price freeze" is supposed to stop the whole process. Workers won't get higher wages; capitalists won't set higher prices. Inflation will be nipped in the bud.

But this is a patent lie and none know it better than the rulers of this country. It is true that if workers stop fighting for higher wages, their incomes will be frozen by the government edict. But prices will continue to rise and the inflation will continue to eat away at paychecks.

This is because the central source of inflation is government deficit spending—above all government spending on war, which is by far the largest part of the federal budget.

Nixon has no intentions of cutting back on war spending. The day before Nixon's TV address announcing the wage freeze, Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird announced that the administration would seek a \$3-billion increase in the war budget, bringing it up to \$80-billion in fiscal year 1972.

Nixon escalated the air and artillery bombing of the Demilitarized Zone and North Vietnam, while public attention was focused on the wage-freeze decree.

Nixon now pretends that inflation

has nothing to do with the budgetary policies of the government. But not so long ago, while he was campaigning for the presidency, Nixon at least indirectly admitted the inflationary effects of government spending when he promised to balance the budget—one of the many campaign "promises" Nixon has not carried out. The federal budget deficit of more than \$20-billion for the fiscal year that ended June 30 was the second largest since World War II, and another \$20-billion-plus deficit is expected in the current fiscal year, according to the Aug. 23 *Wall Street Journal*.

Deficit spending

Deficit spending by the government is inflationary because it increases the money in circulation relative to the goods produced and offered for sale on the market.

Deficit spending occurs when the government pays out more in a given period than it receives in taxes. But this additional expenditure is not simply extra money printed by the government. Expenditures by the federal government over and above what it acquires in taxes must be borrowed through the issuance of government bonds. And the federal government—like every other borrower—must repay its debts.

But huge sums are involved in the government financing of war. The federal government alone has debts roughly equal to the total long-term debts of all U.S. corporations. In order to meet the huge sums demanded by the government for war expenditures, without at the same time de-

trols at the start of an imperialist war whereas the Republican is imposing one in the midst of a war.

Critics have emphasized that no ceilings are being put on profits, dividends, interest rates, stock prices, taxes, executive expense accounts, etc. Corporations could save \$9-billion in taxes through investment credits and accelerated depreciation rules over the next year alone. By shelving welfare reform and revenue-sharing plans, Nixon has further fattened the greedy at the expense of the needy.

Despite all this, after their initial bluster, Meany and other high union officials have expressed willingness to go along with economic controls provided they can be "fairly" administered. These treacherous misleaders prefer to disregard the purposes of any wage freeze. Such a scheme is intended to change the division of the national revenue so that the workers receive a lesser share and the monopolists a larger one of the output labor produces.

This redistribution of income will have two consequences. It will make the workers bear the brunt of the immense military expenditures. And the wage freeze will lower the costs of production for the corporations, enabling them to improve their competitive positions in the scramble for world trade against Western Europe and Japan, whose wage scales are substantially lower than the U.S.

All the experience of the twentieth century in every industrial country where the capitalist regime has enforced an "incomes policy" has proved that, far from ensuring equality of sacrifice, economic controls inevitably grind out greater inequalities between the wealthy and the workers. They do so because wage restraints place the centralized authority and legal powers of the government at the disposal of the employers on top of their normal means of pressure. If they can also count on the collaboration of compliant labor leaders, the living standards of the workers must suffer. Their organizations are hamstrung

and denied the means of coping with rising prices.

The working people should not be made to pay for the billions the imperialist warmakers have wasted in their military ventures. An all-out fight against any form of wage controls by organized and unorganized workers is essential if their wages and working conditions are to be protected from further price-gouging. In August, wholesale price raises for both food and industrial goods were the largest in six months.

Nixon's overtures to Mao

The reorientation in foreign policy connected with Nixon's overtures to Mao has one thing in common with the decline of the dollar. Viewed in the perspective of postwar developments, the two events are signs of the deterioration in the position of U.S. capitalism on the world arena.

For the past quarter of a century, the dollar has reigned supreme as the premier currency and the cornerstone of the international monetary system. Now that it has been dethroned, different financial arrangements will have to be worked out amidst disorders that will affect the whole of world trade and investment.

The devaluation of the almighty dollar follows upon the collapse of the Asian policy Democrats and Republicans alike have adhered to since 1949. Washington has at long last been forced to discard the blockade of the People's Republic of China and deal directly with it. This de facto recognition is an expression of the alteration in the balance of world power in favor of the Chinese workers state to the detriment of the watchdog of imperialism.

The most compelling reason behind Nixon's parley with Peking is the failure of the U.S. military machine to win the war in Southeast Asia. Despite the expenditure of over \$100-billion dollars, the use of hundreds of thousands of troops, unparalleled bombing and napalm raids, that war has been lost, even though Washington

refuses to acknowledge the fact. The dauntless resistance of the Vietnamese freedom-fighters backed up by the anti-war movement in the United States has stymied the mightiest imperialism on earth.

Nixon, with his eye on the coming elections, has three main objectives to pursue with Peking. Just as he seeks Meany's cooperation in putting over the wage freeze, so he would like Mao's assistance in arriving at a settlement that will leave the U.S. with some base of operations in Indochina. The president also wants to exploit the rupture between the Soviet Union and China to the advantage of the American imperialists and to promote trade with China.

The Chinese leaders are disposed to bargain in order to remove the block-



ade, gain a counterweight to the Soviet pressures upon them, enhance their prestige and influence in world diplomacy, acquire entry into the United Nations, and, above all, to open the channels of international trade and access to industrial goods that U.S. recognition could provide.

Peking's rapprochement with Washington casts a retrospective light upon one of the major issues of foreign policy involved in the interbureaucratic conflicts at the top that marked the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, rebaptized by Edgar Snow the

"Great Fierce Domestic Purge." Head of state Liu Shao-chi, the Mayor of Peking Peng Shen, and their military co-thinkers apparently proposed to align the People's Republic with the Soviet Union against the U.S. in Southeast Asia. Mao and Lin Biao opposed this military and diplomatic strategy and were more disposed to deal with Washington than the Kremlin.

This did not deter Mao from accusing his opponents of conniving with U.S. imperialists while his own regime was considering that alternative. Now the same trusting radicals, such as the editors of the *Guardian*, who took whatever Mao then said at face value, are giving assurances that he and Chou will never compromise revolutionary principles in dealing with Washington. As before, these dupes fail to distinguish between the revolutionary rhetoric and the counterrevolutionary practices of Maoism.

At least three such outrageous deeds have been registered so far this year. Peking has backed Pakistan's military dictatorship in crushing the independence struggle of Bangla Desh. It has openly aided Ceylon's popular front government's suppression of the young rebels belonging to the People's Liberation Front. It has blessed President Nimer's execution of the Sudanese Communists.

Chou En-lai's welcome to Nixon fits neatly into this pattern. The Maoist leaders have no more objection to practicing "peaceful coexistence" with the representatives of American capitalism than do their Stalinist counterparts in the Kremlin.

It remains to be seen just what kind of agreements the negotiators will come up with in this initial approach. Meanwhile, the dealings between the two capitals are draped in secrecy, and neither the American nor the Chinese peoples are being permitted to know what is currently under discussion or has already been decided. Must we wait for a second series of Pentagon papers to find out?

pleting the sources of money capital needed to finance corporate business, the banking system must expand credit.

It is precisely the expansion of credit by the banks, in order to make funds available to corporations—much of which will be channeled into the highly profitable arena of war production—that creates an inflationary money supply in the economy.

For unlike the government, which has "only" borrowed money, the banks have created new money: they have extended the checking accounts of their major customers. These checking account balances of the big corporations, called "demand deposits" because the money is available "on demand" to the corporations, constitute about 80 percent of the total U.S. money supply. An expansion of bank credit consequently immediately expands the volume of money in circulation.

It is the fact that a considerable portion of the money will be directed toward the production of war goods that inflates the prices of products throughout the economy. This is because, in the manufacture of weapons, money enters the economy for which there is no corresponding increase in the production of useful products.

A massive quantity of objects of destruction are produced at immense costs, but these goods are not then available to the private consumer. The money that flows into circulation in the production of these weapons, supplied by government deficits and bank credit, drives up the prices of the goods that are available to consumers—from bananas to heavy equip-

ment. The monopolists jack up prices to absorb the additional purchasing power of consumers. This is the inflationary rise of prices.

Effect of monopoly

One might well ask, if there is a net increase in the money supply as a result of government deficits, why don't businesses manufacture more products and absorb the additional purchasing power in this way, especially at a time when there is considerable unused productive capacity and over five million workers are unemployed? This question pinpoints the role of monopoly.

The giant corporations which dominate the economy respond to increased demand by restricting the production of goods, stimulating artificial shortages and consequently driving up prices in order to reap higher profits from the new money poured into circulation.

There is all the more reason for the monopolists to do this, since some of the capital thus raised can be invested in the production of war materiel—where secret contracts with the government guarantee the highest profit rates.

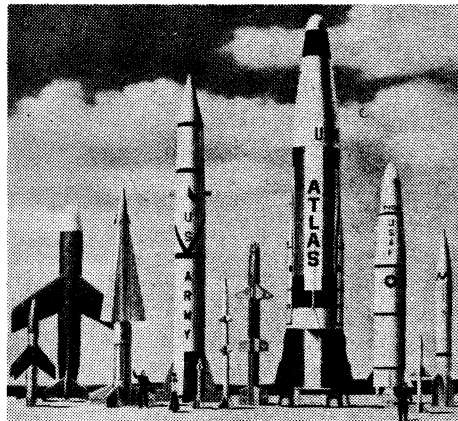
War credits

The total public debt (the amount owed by the U.S. government for its years of deficit financing) is projected to rise to \$277-billion in 1971. The annual interest on this debt alone comprises the third largest item on the federal budget, after direct war expenditures and "social security benefits."

The overwhelming role of war ex-

penses in the pile-up of the public debt can be easily documented by examining the effect of wars on deficit spending. Thus, of the \$277-billion public debt projected for 1971, \$258-billion of it—over 90 percent—had been accrued directly in war years: \$23-billion in World War I; \$211-billion in World War II; \$3-billion in the Korean war; and \$21-billion in the Vietnam war (through 1971).

But even this is not the whole story. Since deficit spending requires continuous repayment of interest on the public debt, war expenditures actually last



for a considerable time after the immediate expense. In addition, the government pays veterans' benefits for years after the war is over—the minimal pittance issued to the GIs who survive the imperialists' slaughters. Although the veterans' payments on an individual basis are small, as a whole they constitute another significant segment of the federal budget, so many soldiers has Washington raised to press its global military interests.

The Commerce Department's *Statistical Abstract* for 1970 includes an extremely revealing table which lists both the "original war costs" and the "estimated ultimate costs" of the major U.S. wars, including both interest payments and veterans' benefits.

This shows that the original cost of World War I was \$26-billion, but its estimated ultimate cost rose to \$112-billion; the comparable figures for the Korean war are: original, \$54-billion, ultimate, \$164-billion; Vietnam war, original (through June 1970), \$110-billion, ultimate, \$352-billion; World War II, original, \$288-billion, ultimate, \$664-billion.

None of the full costs of these wars has yet been repaid to the banks—meaning that their full effect on the taxpayer's pocketbook and their inflationary effect on the economy will be felt into the indefinite future—so long as the dynastic families who own the banks rule the government.

War-related jobs

The extent of war spending as a component of total federal government spending is demonstrated in a further series of statistics recently issued by the Labor Department, entitled *Manpower Report of the President*.

This study concentrates on government spending on goods and services—which leads directly to jobs—as distinct from government spending in such categories as veterans benefits, "social security benefits," and interest repayments which do not create jobs directly.

In the category of goods and services
Continued on next page

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vices, the government spent an estimated \$99.7-billion in 1970. Of this amount, according to the government report, fully \$76.6-billion, that is, 76 percent, was spent on military services, foreign military "assistance," and atomic energy development.

The next largest category after this came way down to \$5.9-billion, roughly 6 percent, on education, followed by \$3.5-billion on space research and technology and \$3.4-billion on "health and hospitals, including veterans, and welfare."

This report also tabulated the estimated number of jobs created by government expenditures on goods and services in the whole economy, including government and nongovernment jobs. Of the total of 8,922,000 jobs created in the United States by government spending in 1970, 7,013,000 of these jobs, over 78 percent of them, were military-oriented jobs—that is jobs in the civilian and uniformed armed forces and in the war industry. And this figure for 1970 was lower than in earlier years of the Vietnam war because of the cutback in war spending initiated by the Nixon administration. That cutback wiped out 1.4-million jobs between 1968 and 1970, according to the "manpower" report.

These figures graphically illustrate the centrality of war spending in the economic activity of the imperialist government. They should hardly be surprising. On one side stands a massive U.S. war machine that has outposts across the globe and has pressed counterrevolutionary war in Indochina for over a decade. On the other side stand abysmally insufficient government health, education and welfare programs, many of which have been slashed in order to provide more government funds for the war.

Permanent inflation

It is this huge state apparatus and its concomitant expenditures, primarily in the military sector, that is the cause of the permanent inflation of the U.S. economy.

Hundreds of billions of dollars are poured into the production of wasteful products whose sole purpose is the protection and expansion of the worldwide investments of the capitalist class.

This exerts a continuous inflationary pressure on prices, and prices in the United States have risen steadily since the mid-1930s. In periods of war, the price rise is sharply accelerated. This can be easily shown by reference to government figures published in the annual *Statistical Abstract* of the Commerce Department and the *Monthly Labor Review* of the Labor Department.

Thus in the six years from 1934 to 1939, which was a period of economic recovery from the depression, the consumer-price index rose 7 percent. But in the six years of World War II, from 1940 (included because of the stepped up war spending in preparation for the war) through 1945, the consumer-price index rose 29 percent. This was a period during which the Office of Price Administration was supposed to "freeze prices."

In 1946, as Washington continued to incur huge deficits to pay for the war that "ended" in the previous year, prices jumped 8 percent.

Similarly, in the six years from 1959 to 1964, prices rose 7 percent. In the six years from 1965—when Johnson began to escalate the Vietnam war in a massive way—to 1970, prices rose 25 percent.

The direct effect of capitalist war spending on inflation is not something so complex that only the initiated among economic specialists of the ruling

class can comprehend it. It is not something that double-talk by the ruling-party politicians and the capitalist press can disguise. And it is not a new phenomenon of capitalism.

One of the foremost bourgeois economists of the twentieth century described in 1923 the redistribution of wealth and the devastating effect on the incomes of workers produced by the inflation of the First World War: "What was deemed most secure has proved least so."

"He who neither spent nor speculated, who made proper provision for his family, who sang hymns to security and observed most strictly the morals of the edified and the respected injunctions of the worldly wise—he indeed who gave the fewest pledges to Fortune has yet received her heaviest visitation."

The author of these ironic lines is John Maynard Keynes, whose economic

doctrines have been the cornerstone of capitalist government policy in the last four decades.

Keynes also once remarked that not one person in a thousand understands the capitalists' policy of "taxation by inflation." This arrogant attitude has been shared by Democratic and Republican administrations alike since the Second World War.

But the reality of the inflationary effect of war spending is becoming more and more apparent to millions of people in this country. It is staring every single person in the face every time anyone goes to a store.

Furthermore, this inflation is caused above all by spending for a war that the masses of American people oppose and despise.

The answer to Nixon's demagogic orders for a wage freeze that is supposed to end inflation cries out: End the war and end all military spending!

Nixon's 'price freeze' is a fraud

Price increases due to the tax surcharge on imports were announced by the following companies during the past week: Volkswagen, Nissan Motor Corp. (Datsun), British Leyland Motors (M.G., Triumph and Land Rover), and four major Japanese electronics manufacturers, Sony, Sharp Corp., Sanyo Electric, and Matsushita Electric Industrial Co.

The following new price-freeze exemptions will allow price increases: Fees for licenses or legal penalties, such as traffic tickets, imposed by local governments may be increased. . . . Seasonal increases in hotel rates will be permitted. . . . A manufacturer who adds a pocket to a shirt or who sews a monogram onto a garment can raise prices. . . . Electric utilities can raise their prices to compensate for an increase in imported fuel costs due to the import tax surcharge.

"Q. Can an individual institute an action to recover an overcharge? A. Not under the executive order." (Cost of Living Council question and answer, New York Times, Aug. 18)

How women fought price rise in 1966

By CAROLINE LUND

In the context of the current so-called "price freeze," it is interesting to recall the movement of women demanding lower food prices which arose in 1966.

In October 1966, women in Denver launched a boycott of price-gouging supermarket chain stores, demanding lower prices. The movement quickly spread from Denver to over 100 cities. By November an Associated Press dispatch reported that the women's revolt had hit 21 states. The ad hoc organizations that arose had such names as Women for Lower Food Prices, Women on the Warpath, the Truth Squad, and Housewives for Lower Prices.

During the preceding six-month period, food prices had gone up 5 percent. This was just the beginning of the intensified inflation generated by the 1965 escalation of the Vietnam war. Women also protested the use of trading stamps as still another way to make the consumer pay more.

One of the main tactics used in this struggle was to set up picket lines outside supermarkets and ask shoppers to sign pledges not to shop at that store. In Seattle, one of the areas where this movement was most effective, over 33,000 people signed pledges to boycott the four largest chain stores in the city. The organizers of boycotts across the country sought and received a large amount of radio and television time to explain their demands.

By putting the spotlight as well as economic pressure on the price chiselers, the 1966 movement won some temporary victories. In Colorado, the women's movement forced 43 boycotted stores to lower their prices, and in Texas and New Mexico, 54 Safeway stores were also forced to do so. But, of course, when the movement died down, the prices went up again.

One thing the movement did was to put the store managers on the defensive. Many of the chain stores hired public relations experts to try to convince the public that they weren't making much profit. One of the demands of the Seattle Women for Lower Food Prices was that the supermarket chains open their books to public inspection so that the amount of profits being made could be verified.

The other two demands of the Seattle women

were for reasonable stability of prices and for uniformity of prices within a given chain. The latter demand was to stop supermarkets from selling inferior goods at higher prices in Black, Puerto Rican and Chicano neighborhoods, a very common practice. The WLFP organized price-checking crews to verify prices being charged in the boycotted stores.

In some areas, the women appealed for support from local trade unions. In Seattle, the Boeing International Association of Machinists gave their support, and let the WLFP use their hall for meetings. Boycott organizers spoke before the King County (Seattle) Labor Council in December and won its support.

In the context of the wage-price freeze, such a movement to keep down prices would have even more potential for winning support. It is obvious to more and more people that the freezing of wages is being well-enforced by employers—it is in their interests to keep wages down—but there is no serious enforcement of the so-called "price freeze." Already significant exemptions have been made, including unprocessed food products and all imported goods.

According to the Aug. 18 *Washington Post* and the Sept. 3 *New York Times*, the Office of Emergency Preparedness (OEP) and the Internal Revenue Service (IRS), the agencies charged with enforcing the "price freeze," are being flooded with complaints about illegal price increases. *Times* reporter Grace Lichtenstein says that the IRS "is relying almost entirely on voluntary compliance to enforce the freeze. . . . As yet, however, the office has sent no field investigators out to see whether merchants or landlords are going along with the freeze."

At the present time, the OEP and IRS have no personnel available to monitor prices or even make on-the-spot investigations of complaints. And they don't think it will be necessary to add such personnel. New York IRS district office spokesman Emmanuel Maggio assured Lichtenstein, "We believe most merchants are honest." [!]

If the government does not seriously enforce Nixon's price freeze proclamation—as has been the case so far—then consumers have the legal right

to organize to enforce it. Consumer price committees could organize inspection of every supermarket and prompt investigation of every complaint of price rises. They could mobilize public pressure by exposing the price chiselers and by organizing boycotts of these stores. Consumers organized in a mass movement should also be able to confiscate any goods for which prices have been raised. By doing this, they would simply be defending the law against flagrant violators.

This is the only way prices can be frozen. It won't be done by the government of big business and bankers, or any of its phony "price control" boards. Enforcement of the price freeze will only be done by the consumers—because they are the ones who must pay and therefore have the most interest in enforcing the price freeze.



New York supermarket window

Photo by Jon Britton

By LEE SMITH

When George Meany spoke to reporters in Washington, D.C., Aug. 27, according to the account of Philip Shabecoff in the Aug. 28 *New York Times*, the AFL-CIO president "spoke warmly of the activities of the old War Labor Board. . . ." This was not the first time Meany had indicated he would favor "the creation of a board representing labor, management and the public," although it was the first time since the imposition of the freeze.

In a statement over national TV July 11, noted in a July 23 *Militant* editorial headlined "Meany's treachery," this "leader" of labor said, "We would accept wage and price controls, provided that the sacrifice is equal to everyone concerned." A statement passed by the AFL-CIO Executive Committee a week before the freeze was decreed repeated the call for controls that would rest on "equality of sacrifice."

Meany and other top bureaucrats in today's labor movement served in the apparatus that administered the so-called control of prices and profits during World War II. In order to understand why they so "warmly" recall that arrangement, which allowed the official cost of living to rise 30 percent while wages were fixed, it will help to review the history of the freezes during World War II and the Korean war.

This experience is documented by Art Preis in his history of the CIO, *Labor's Giant Step*.

In December 1941, after the formal declaration of war, Franklin Roosevelt summoned to the capital representatives of industry and labor for a week-long conference. This gathering, justifying its actions with the same "equality of sacrifice" formula being bantered about today, called for a no-strike pledge from workers and gave its stamp of approval to the War Labor Board established by Roosevelt.

Having obtained a voluntary surrender of the right to strike from the leaders of organized labor, the bosses quickly demonstrated what "equal sacrifice" meant to them. At a conference with the Office of Production Management the following month, they obtained provisions allowing for upward revision of original estimates in government contracts, and tax amortizations enabling them to purchase new, government-built plants at a fraction of the real cost.

Prices began taking off directly after Pearl Harbor, and in January 1942 the government provided the Wartime Price Control Act, setting up the Office of Price Administration to appease demands for higher wages by appearing to control price gouging.

'Little Steel formula'

Roosevelt did not decree an outright wage freeze until eight months later, on Oct. 5, 1942, but the drive to keep wages down did not wait for the decree. The president called for "voluntary restraints" in April. In July, the WLB that Meany so "warmly" remembers imposed a settlement on the United Steelworkers union covering workers in the minor steel corporations. This settlement, which became known as the "Little Steel formula," gave the workers who were demanding a dollar-a-day increase only 44 cents, according to a so-called "established peacetime standard." The standard was arrived at by measuring wage increases since Jan. 1, 1941 against price increases for the same period to supposedly keep wages in the same relation to living costs that existed Jan. 1, 1941. Actually, in Little Steel and subsequent cases, the settlement gave the workers even less than what the formula strictly prescribed.

Two months before the Little Steel settlement, Roosevelt had nullified an

escalator clause in the contract between the government and shipyard workers. This in itself gave the lie to the "price freeze." As Preis comments, "further wage increases under this clause were dependent on further price increases—and Roosevelt had given assurances that prices would be controlled. What need to fear extension of this escalator clause if his promises meant anything?"

Roosevelt's Oct. 5 wage-freeze decree was accompanied by more demagoguery concerning "equality of sacrifice." In the same order he called for a \$25,000 ceiling on personal income, but this call was qualified by "insofar as prac-

succession of four national mine strikes that finished the Little Steel formula was carried on against the combined opposition of the capitalist government and press and the leadership of the rest of organized labor. But while official CIO spokesmen, especially those that were members of and closely associated with the Communist Party, joined the government in branding Lewis and the miners as traitors, the ranks of the CIO identified with them and supported their battle.

After the miners won, Roosevelt and the union bureaucrats who toadied up to him had to give way in other

showing that the U.S. Steel Corporation had nearly tripled its net profits in 1942-43.

Roosevelt continued to press his antilabor campaign after the miners strike, freezing wages again and reaffirming the freeze once more after that, seeking laws to prohibit strikes and conscript labor, and freezing workers to their jobs. When the war was formally concluded with the Japanese surrender, President Truman aimed to extend the "industrial peace" of the war years into the postwar period.

In fact, while in relative terms the government had succeeded with the aid of the top labor bureaucrats in clamping a lid on the class struggle, the war years of "industrial peace" had been marked by no fewer than 14,471 strikes involving 6,774,000 workers—more than during any comparable stretch of time in U.S. history. Moreover, combativity was on the increase as the war ended, and the bosses' dream of extending "industrial peace" was not about to come true.

Unemployment had begun to rise even before the war concluded. A drive in the UAW to rescind the no-strike pledge was mounting. Labor productivity had skyrocketed during the war, and, in contrast to the leap in profits and prices, real wages had not kept pace.

Next to the employers, the Communist Party was the most vigorous campaigner for permanent "industrial peace" continuing beyond the war, but the rest of the CIO leadership was only a step behind. Yet within one week after Japan surrendered, mass demonstrations of jobless workers under CIO leadership began, and the UAW executive board wired its more than 1,000 locals that it considered the no-strike pledge to have ended with Japan's surrender. By September 1945, the largest strike wave that had yet occurred in U.S. history was underway.

The great postwar wave of strikes, peaking in 1946 with 4,895 strikes involving 4,600,000 workers and shutting down production for 116,000,000 workdays, swept away the controls imposed during the war. The next time an attempt was made to freeze wages was 1951.

Korean war

A Wage Stabilization Board set up by Truman as part of the "defense mobilization" for U.S. aggression in Korea, fixed a ceiling on wages in February 1951, holding increases to below 10 percent of January 1950 wage levels. The three labor members of the WSB resigned in protest. The lack of support for the Korean war and the one-sidedness of Truman's moves lay behind the resignations and the general opposition of organized labor to this wage freeze.

As Preis puts it, "The real gripe of the union officialdom was that the Truman administration gave them not even a tattered cloak to cover the nakedness of their readiness to comply with the fundamentally antilabor war program. Truman gave them no demagogic peg on which to hang an 'equality of sacrifice' program." But by "reorganizing" the WSB, Truman lured labor back to its posts within two months. Nothing had fundamentally changed except that scarcely any pretense of price control was maintained. Food prices in June 1952 were 37 percent higher than at the beginning of the conflict.

The major fight waged against the Truman wage freeze was the 54-day 1952 steel strike. Even though it was settled by union president Philip Murray on terms below those approved by the WSB, and even though Murray did next to nothing to mobilize for this struggle, the locals carried on a militant strike that saved their working conditions and rules from a company offensive designed to roll back

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The fraud of 'equal sacrifice': World War II and Korea



Cartoonist Laura Gray's comment on how WW II Labor Board treated workers.

ticable" and a string of other phrases to justify the fact that it never would be enforced.

One week after the order, the WLB used the Little Steel formula to deny Ford workers asking for a dollar-a-day raise any increase at all. At the same time, the board adopted a new strike-investigation program that pressured local union officers to publicly oppose any strike that arose.

Nearly 3,000 strikes, involving some 840,000 workers did occur in 1942, but the number of hours lost due to strikes was lower than at any time since 1930. The short duration of these strikes—even though they were more numerous than in any previous year since 1919—testified to the effectiveness of the treacherous alliance between government and the labor bureaucracy.

In return for the service of helping to administer the so-called price controls and the very real wage freeze, the capitalist rulers, beginning in April 1942, conceded what were called "maintenance of membership" clauses, requiring workers who belonged to a union at the time of a contract agreement to continue paying dues for the life of the contract. These dues were checked off by the employers, the money turned over to the union.

In 1943, the Little Steel formula was broken by the heroic struggle of the United Mine Workers under the leadership of John L. Lewis, who had bolted from the CIO in 1942. The

industries and were unable to "hold the line" against increases. Nevertheless, wages were held down severely even though they did not remain frozen completely.

Prices, profits rise

At the same time, prices and war profits soared. No effective policing of prices was ever carried out, despite the elaborate machinery established as a gesture in that direction. Meany himself, who served in the OPA, admitted as much in a 1944 report to Roosevelt in which he claimed a 28.5 percent discrepancy between wage and price adjustments. In January 1943, protesting that dressmakers had received no more than a 10-percent wage increase since the Little Steel formula was adopted, David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, put the rise in the cost of living for those same seven months at 22 percent.

Profits increased even more spectacularly. A December 1943 report by the commerce department revealed that profits for the third quarter of 1943 "were the highest for any quarter in American economic history." A Senate report issued in January 1944 showed that net profits for the country's 200 top corporations in 1942 were five to ten times what they had been in the best peacetime years. In submitting a request for a 17-cent wage increase to the WLB in 1944, the steelworkers presented figures

Legal brief clearly states case for abortion

By CAROLINE LUND

The United States Supreme Court has agreed to hear challenges to the constitutionality of the abortion laws in Texas and Georgia during its fall session. The court's decision on these two cases will be extremely important since they raise the central question of whether laws restricting abortion infringe upon the constitutional rights of women by denying them the right to decide whether to have children.

Both of these cases have been filed through class-action suits brought by women. They are only two cases among over 20 such class-action suits being brought by women across the country against state abortion laws. Suits have been brought by more than 1,000 New Jersey women, over 1,000 Pennsylvania women, 858 Connecticut women, 100 Rhode Island women, to name only a few. And more suits are presently being organized by women in California, Michigan, and other states.

In hearing the Texas and Georgia cases, the Supreme Court will be confronting for the first time the question of the constitutional right of women to abortion on demand.

Because of the importance of these two cases, attorney Nancy Stearns has prepared an amicus brief in their support on behalf of three organizations—the New Women Lawyers, the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, and the Women's Health and Abortion Project, Inc. This brief has been published and can be obtained from: Nancy Stearns, c/o Center for Constitutional Rights, 588 Ninth Ave., New York, N. Y. 10036, for \$1.

This pamphlet is one of the clearest and most concise statements for the right of women to abortion that has yet appeared. Although written as a legal document, it is nonetheless completely understandable to those without legal training and is a statement from the point of view of women.

The major arguments expanded upon in this brief are:

1. Laws which restrict the availability of abortion "deny to women their right to control and direct their lives and bodies as protected by the Fourteenth Amendment's guarantees of life and liberty." Federal courts have interpreted the right to liberty as meaning not only the right not to be physically incarcerated, but to include such things as "the right of the citizen to be free in the enjoyment of all his

faculties; to live and work where he will; to earn his livelihood by any lawful calling; to pursue any livelihood or avocation. . . ."

Pregnancy, however, severely limits all these liberties for a woman. A pregnant woman can be forced to leave her job. In many states she is denied unemployment compensation and therefore forced to become economically dependent on either husband, family, or welfare. Women are generally forced to stop their education—both in high school and college—because of pregnancy.

After the child is born, women can still be denied employment simply on the grounds that they have pre-school children, as was the ruling in the *Phillips v. Martin Marietta Corp.* case just recently. Pregnancy often forces women into marriage against their will. And, of course, a woman's liberty is limited for most of the rest of her life because of her responsibility to care for the child.

Therefore, writes Stearns, "for a woman perhaps the most critical aspect of liberty is the right to decide when and whether she will have a child—with all the burdens and limitations on her freedom which that entails."

2) Laws restricting the right to abortion deny women equal protection of the laws, which is also guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment.

Stearns writes: "Man and woman have equal responsibility for the act of sexual intercourse. Should the woman accidentally become pregnant, against her will, however, she endures in many instances the entire burden or 'punishment'."

"It is often said that if men could become pregnant or if women sat in the legislatures there would no longer be laws prohibiting abortion. This is not said in jest. It reaches to the heart of the unequal position of women with respect to the burdens of bearing and raising children and the fact that they are robbed of the ability to choose whether they wish to bear those burdens." The brief goes on to cite the numerous laws which place on women a greater responsibility for care of the child than on the father.

Related to this question of equal protection of the laws, Stearns notes that abortion laws have been instituted and maintained by almost totally male legislatures, and that most were

passed even before women had the right to vote. Further, these male legislators have devised laws that could not possibly affect themselves.

"Laws such as the abortion laws presently before this court," Stearns' brief points out, "in fact insure that women never will be able to function fully in the society in a manner that will enable them to participate as equals with men in making the laws which control and govern their lives. For as long as women are unable to control their reproductive lives they will be forced to disrupt their education, forego their career, and will never be a totally functioning part of the government which determines their rights."

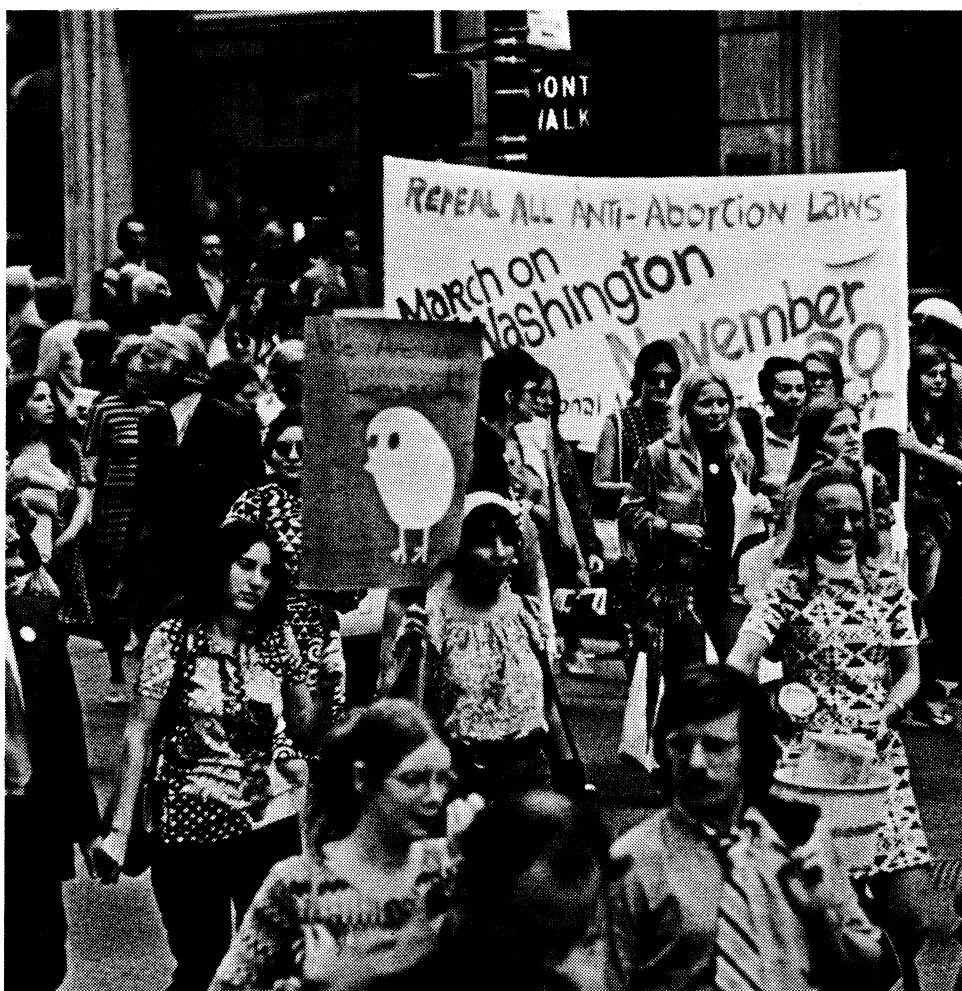
3) Abortion laws violate the constitutional guarantee against "cruel and unusual punishment." "Forcing a woman to bear a child against her will is indeed a form of punishment," states the brief, "a result of society's ambivalent attitude towards female sexuality." It argues that forced motherhood, which condemns women

to severe physical pain and burdens as well as to years of labor and loss of freedom, is both cruel and out of proportion to the act for which she is being punished—which, in many cases, is not even illegal.

Lastly the brief demolishes the arguments that have been used in the past to justify that the state has "a compelling interest" in restricting abortion—arguments concerning protection of the life of the fetus, the enforcement of moral norms regarding sexual relations, and the protection of the health of the woman.

Stearns points out that the "right to life" of a fetus is completely different from the right to life of a person: "In no other instance does the right to live include the right to use another person's body—his or her kidney, heart and lungs."

This pamphlet should be highly recommended to women struggling for the right to abortion on demand. It provides devastating ammunition against opponents of abortion of all stripes.



New York, Aug. 26, 1971

Photo by Brian Shannon

Mandel visa still refused

From Intercontinental Press

The American consul in Brussels has withheld favorable action on a visa application made by Ernest Mandel to fill speaking engagements in the United States this fall.

The noted Belgian Marxist requested permission on July 13 to visit the U. S. from October 13 to December 16, 1971. He has been asked to speak at a number of leading Eastern universities, including Harvard, from whose Economics Department he received a unanimous invitation.

The consul informed Mandel on August 9 that he was still considered ineligible for a visa because "There is an appeal now pending in the Su-

preme Court bearing upon the previous refusal of a waiver of these grounds of ineligibility [under the 1952 McCarran-Walter Act]. The Embassy has been notified by the authorities in Washington that no action will be taken on your current visa application until final judgment has been rendered on this appeal."

After Mandel was twice prevented from lecturing in the U. S. in 1969, he and eight distinguished American professors filed suit to force the government to open the doors for his visit. This action was initiated by the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and argued by the constitutional lawyers Leonard Boudin and David Rosenberg of Harvard Law School.

In a landmark decision in March 1971, a three-judge federal court ruled that the restraint upon the visit of the scholar violated the First Amendment right to hear, thereby knocking out the exclusion provision of the McCarran-Walter Act invoked in his case.

The Justice Department has appealed the District Court decision to the Supreme Court, where the issues are ex-

pected to be argued in the next session. If the high court upholds the majority opinion soon enough, Mandel should be able to lecture at U. S. universities in the late fall.

Feliciano wins bail reduction

From Intercontinental Press

Puerto Rican nationalist Carlos Feliciano won a reduction of his bail from \$175,000 to \$25,000 on August 18 in Manhattan City Court.

Feliciano has been held in jail since May 16, 1970, when he was arrested by New York City police on sensational charges of bombing forty-one public buildings. This accusation was used by the prosecutor as justification for the astronomical bail figure, even though the indictment charges Felici-

ano with but one count of attempted arson.

The prosecutor also asserted that Feliciano was "affiliated, we believe, with an alien government outside the territorial limits of the United States."

These witch-hunt accusations are seen as an attempt to establish a non-existent link between bombings of buildings in New York and Puerto Rico and the Nationalist party, of which Feliciano is a member. In the Fall 1970 issue of *USLA Reporter* (the newsletter of the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners), Ruth Reynolds wrote:

"Once such a false but juridical link has been established through Carlos's conviction in a court of law, the government will feel confident to proceed at will against Puerto Rican Nationalists both in the United States and in Puerto Rico, incarcerating whomsoever it wishes on false charges of bombing or conspiring to bomb public and private buildings."

Feliciano's trial has been set for September 27.

Right-to-vote demand almost adopted by UTU convention

By WILLIAM L. BRANSON

MIAMI BEACH, Fla. — The founding convention of the United Transportation Union (UTU) assembled at the swank Fontainebleau Hotel here Aug. 9-25. Although Nixon issued his wage-freeze proclamation a full week before the convention adjourned, the 1,800 delegates, representing over 200,000 railroad workers in the operating departments, failed to draft a plan of defense against this latest attack upon them.

The UTU convention also failed to formally take up the recently negotiated but still unratified contract with the railroad industry. This agreement jeopardizes work rules and provides for an inadequate 42 percent pay raise over 42 months. It is presently being ratified by some 2,000 local union officials.

The UTU constitution does not provide for membership ratification of union contracts. Still, because of the almost unanimous opposition to the new contract by the rank-and-file railroad workers and by all local officers who are seriously trying to defend and promote the interests of the membership, there is a possibility that it will be turned down.

The opposition to this contract is so strong that it became an issue at the convention despite the fact that it was never allowed on the formal agenda. An informal session was called for the purpose of discussing the contract and "allowing the hot-heads to let off steam," as the UTU officials say. Over 1,000 delegates attended. In the discussion, not a single delegate or officer took the floor in support of the agreement.

One of the sorest points is that section which specifies that all disputes over work rules are to be subjected to binding arbitration. Most delegates could find no logic in Luna's argument that in order to avoid a forced settlement (compulsory arbitration) the union had to agree to a delayed forced settlement (binding arbitration).

President Luna's response to the Nixon wage-freeze edict, in this discussion, was an off-the-record promise: "I will not sign the contract unless we get a side letter from the carriers saying they will not put work rules into effect unless the White House approves the entire wage package." The first wage increase under this contract is slated to go into effect during the 90-day freeze and to be retroactive to April 1.

The only important business of the convention, so far as the official leadership was concerned, was to get themselves formally reelected and to get a dues increase voted.

In accordance with the leadership's agenda proposal, the election of national officers began on the sixth day of the convention, before there had been any discussion of constitutional changes relating to membership ratification of union contracts, a key issue for the UTU. Unlike previous conventions of the old railroad brotherhoods (which merged to form the UTU), many of the top offices were contested.

Right to Vote Committee

In these contests, the influence of the Right to Vote Committee (RTVC), which has gained popularity in the UTU during the past year, was evident. The RTVC has been carrying on a campaign within the UTU for the right of the membership to ratify union contracts.

John Blount, a local chairman on the Erie Lackawanna Railroad in Chi-

cago, ran for international president on a program that called for membership ratification of contracts and a cost-of-living escalator clause in all wage agreements. He indicated in his campaign literature that he was prepared to risk fines and jail in defense of the right to strike.

The secretary of the Right to Vote Committee, Ed Heisler from Milwaukee Line Local 1433 in Chicago, supported Blount's candidacy, and he received the votes of most RTVC supporters. (The RTVC did not formally endorse a slate of candidates for union office, being primarily interested in developing a program of action and winning supporters at this convention.)

Blount's vote was 388, about one-fourth of the total. The "administration candidate" for president, UTU National Legislative Director Al Ches-sor, received 1,387 votes.

John McGinness, another RTVC supporter, ran for international vice-president against administration-endorsed Roy Heape. McGinness came close to winning, receiving 856 votes to Heape's 916.

Other candidates for office declared their support of membership ratification of all union agreements, greater internal democracy within the union, and defense of the right to strike and their opposition to government interference in labor-management conflicts.

The Right to Vote Committee issued printed "progress reports" during the convention, explaining its program for democratic control of the union and calling for the union to take the leadership in the reorganization of the sick railroad industry.

On the eleventh working day of the convention, a motion was made for a \$1.50-per-month increase in dues to the International. This was opposed by a majority of those who spoke.

During the debate, Luna was asked what pay the International officers draw. He declined to say how much. "There isn't an International officer who gets as much as the other side (railroad owners). If you don't think we're entitled to as much as the other side, well I don't think you are . . ." Luna shut his mouth in time, before he put his foot in it. One speaker said, "We will lose at least 20,000 members under these work-rule changes so perhaps we do need a dues increase." Luna, obviously quite angered by that remark, replied, "We won't lose a damn one."

When the time came for the vote, the chairman called for yeas and nays and immediately declared the dues-increase motion adopted. There was no roll-call vote, not even a hand count.

Article 91

After the election of officers and the raise in dues, there was consideration of constitutional changes. The one of greatest interest and controversy was the proposed change in Article 91 to insure membership ratification of all union contracts with management.

The broad support of the Right to Vote Committee and the influence it exercised was again demonstrated when on the twelfth day of the convention a motion was made to consider Article 91 ahead of other articles by making it the first point on the day's agenda. This motion was opposed by the leadership despite the fact that a petition urging consideration of Article 91 had been signed by nearly 700 delegates. This time the leadership was defeated.

Debate on the membership-ratification issue was extended and at times



Railroad cars in Los Angeles idled by UTU strike July, 1971.

heated. A supporter of the leadership, speaking in opposition to membership ratification, said, "Let's pay more attention to the silent majority and less attention to this [RTVC] vocal minority."

The vast majority of speakers supported the right to vote and urged a change in the UTU constitution.

The vote was close. The proposal for membership ratification received 810 votes, with 843 opposed. Administration tellers counted the votes. Attempts to force a roll call failed.

After the vote, Ed Heisler, RTVC secretary and a convention delegate, expressed the opinion that "many more delegates would have voted in favor of the membership ratification proposal had a roll call been taken."

"Their vote for or against the proposal would have been printed in the convention minutes and many would have had second thoughts about facing their membership back in the yards, having been recorded as voting against a right that most members are demanding," he said.

In an interview after the convention, Heisler told *The Militant* that "the fight to democratize the UTU is off to a good beginning. In the coming weeks and months, there will be discussion of what happened at the convention and what kind of program and leadership are necessary to counter the attacks of the railroad mismanagers and the government of big business."

"A program that will include such demands as a reduction in the work-week with no reduction in pay to solve the problem of job cuts; a cost-of-living clause to counter the rising inflation; demonstrations and other mass actions against Nixon's wage freeze and his no-strike edict. . . . These are some of the things that will be discussed and elaborated by RTVC members and supporters in the period ahead."

Asked about the idea of a congress of labor, Heisler said that he had favored this at the UTU convention and that the RTVC Progress Report had urged it. He added that "the logical extension of that idea, the need for independent labor political action, will get a hearing from many workers in the railroad industry."

He expressed confidence: "Railroad workers who belong to the UTU are not going to sit on their hands and wait for four years until the next convention before any effort is made to defend the rights and interests of the rank and file."

Amalia Fleming jailed by Greek junta

From Intercontinental Press

The Greek junta refused, on September 4, to transfer Amalia Fleming, who suffers from diabetes, from jail to a hospital.

Fleming, the Greek-born widow of the codiscoverer of penicillin, is a vocal critic of the junta's dictatorship. Because of the prestige of her late husband, the junta had refrained from arresting her for four years. But on September 1 Fleming, along with three others, was arrested on charges of having conspired to help Alexander Panagoulis escape from prison.

Panagoulis was convicted by the junta's courts in 1968 of attempting to assassinate Premier George Papadopoulos. He was sentenced to death, but international protest forced the regime to commute the sentence to life imprisonment.

The others arrested with Fleming were Athina Psychogios, forty, who was reported to hold dual U. S.-Greek citizenship; John Skelton, a twenty-six-year-old American theology student studying in Greece; and Constantine Androutsopoulos, twenty-eight.

The junta claimed that Panagoulis formulated an elaborate escape plan involving drugging or killing all the prison guards, and that he slipped a written version of the plan past the prison censors to Androutsopoulos.

Androutsopoulos supposedly contacted Panagoulis's brother and the other three "conspirators."

The plot was engineered, according to spokesmen for the junta, in Italy and England.

To substantiate the charges, Under Secretary to the Premier in Charge of Press and Information Byron Stamatopoulos produced photographs of pills, chisels, and a pistol. These were to be used, he said, in the escape.

British embassy officials have not been allowed to visit Fleming. American consular officials applied to the junta for permission to speak to Skelton and Psychogios, but this has not been granted.



Greek Premier Papadopoulos (left).

This is the last of four articles on current economic and political problems in Cuba. The previous three articles may be obtained for 25 cents each from our business office.

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—In the field of foreign policy, the Cuban government has made adaptations to the Stalinist line of "peaceful coexistence." These have occurred mainly with other Latin American countries with which Cuba seeks to break through the economic blockade imposed by U.S. pressure and to renew diplomatic and trade ties. The Cuban leadership has also made several political concessions, for example, the political sympathy expressed for the "left" bourgeois military junta in Peru and the reformist Allende regime in Chile.

Throughout, the Cuban leadership has remained silent about the many crimes of the Mexican ruling class

Qualitative change?

But, some will ask, haven't the various Cuban departures from, or failure to achieve, Marxist norms reached the point of qualitative change? In short, has not the Cuban revolution degenerated in a way similar to the degeneration of the Russian Revolution?

I think the answer is no.

In seeking to think through this question I found it extremely fruitful to reread Trotsky's rounded explanation of the degeneration of the Russian Revolution to be found in his book, *The Revolution Betrayed* (Pathfinder Press, \$2.95).

Trotsky explained that every revolution is inevitably followed by a reaction and even counterrevolution. Such a reaction, however, never takes the process back to its starting point.

Revolutions, he explained, take a heavy toll on the cadres that make them.

to power of Hitlerism in 1933.

The exhaustion and acute economic scarcity, coupled with the defeats abroad, led to the development of a privileged bureaucratic caste, headed by Stalin. Over a period of more than a decade this caste systematically destroyed the democracy of the Soviet Communist Party, the democratic rule of the workers and peasants soviets and, finally, after jailing and exterminating literally millions, fastened a murderous, totalitarian rule on the Soviet people.

In addition to turning the U. S. S. R. into a virtual prisonhouse, the bureaucratic caste born of defeats of the revolutions abroad became the conscious organizer of such defeats. For the sake of coexistence with imperialism, it deliberately betrayed a series of revolutionary struggles, beginning with the Spanish revolution of 1936-7. It abandoned the revolutionary internationalism of the early years of the revolution for a narrow, nationalistic foreign policy under the guise of building "socialism in one country."

By 1933, Trotsky explained, with the total smashing of all opposition, the Soviet bureaucracy had reached the point of degeneration whereby socialist democracy could be restored only by a forcible rising of the masses to oust the bureaucracy — what he called a political revolution. He distinguished such a revolution from the social revolution required in a capitalist country where the rulers must be ousted from political power and the entire economic system transformed as well.

While bureaucratic deformations exist in Cuba, an objective appraisal shows that the situation has by no means reached the qualitative stage existing in a country like the U. S. S. R. or China where the totalitarian rule of a privileged bureaucratic caste remains complete.

Creation of a structured socialist democracy remains a compelling need for Cuba. But there is not the massive, nationwide oppression that marked the triumph of the bureaucratic caste headed by Stalin.

Nor has there been, despite the errors and unprincipled concessions, the kind of a conscious, consistent counter-revolutionary foreign policy developed by Stalin to preserve the stability of bureaucratic rule at home and stability with imperialist nations abroad.

Finally, the Cuban experience occurs in a vastly different world situation. True, there are similarities with the early Soviet Republic. The revolution is isolated and suffers economic scarcity. Revolutions that could help end its isolation, principally in Latin America, have been set back. But these setbacks occur in the context of a rising world radicalization.

The Russian revolution degenerated when reaction and fascism was on the rise in Europe and imperialism was striking heavy blows at the colonial peoples. That general world situation clearly does not exist today despite various recent defeats and setbacks.

There is every reason for optimism that in the not too distant future there will be revolutionary breakthroughs which will help end Cuba's isolation and the difficulties stemming from that isolation.

Further, the Cuban leadership has committed some grievous errors, the importance of which cannot and should not be minimized. But that leadership still includes good revolutionary cadres who have not passed beyond the possibility of responding to a revival of the spirit of Moncada Barracks and the Sierra Maestra.

Perhaps even more decisive, among the Cuban masses there remain tens of thousands who, despite the difficulties and errors, remain imbued with a profoundly revolutionary spirit; who recognize the gains registered by the revolution and remain ready to defend them.

And, finally, all of present world experience is demonstrating that no

Continued on page 22

Canadian socialists hold conference

By DELFINE WELCH

The first cross-Canada socialist education conference was held at the University of Waterloo in Ontario, Aug. 20-25. It commemorated the anniversary of the founding of the revolutionary-communist movement in Canada 50 years ago in a barn outside the town of Guelph, only a few miles from Waterloo.

The five-day conference, organized by the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes (YS/LJS) and League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (LSA/LSO), exceeded all expectations, with 450 people in attendance.

Participants, mainly youth, came from all the Canadian provinces — from the Atlantic regions and Quebec, to the West Coast — as well as from France, New Zealand, Britain and the United States.

The schedule included lectures, activist panels, workshops, classes, a women's festival, parties, and films. George Novack, Andrew Pulley, and Evelyn Reed, all from the Socialist Workers Party in the U.S. were among the major speakers. Manon Léger, prominent in the Quebec independence struggle and a leading member of the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, spoke on "Quebec: Independence and Socialism." Ross Dowson, executive secretary of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, spoke on "Fifty years: Building the Revolutionary Party in Canada."

Activist panels focused on tenant organizing, the high school movement, the struggle in Bangla Desh, gay liberation, recent trends in the trade unions, building the fall antiwar offensive, organizing on campus, and promoting the campaign for abortion law repeal. There were discussions of the work carried on by socialists in the left wing of the New Democratic Party, Canada's labor political organization.

The antiwar and abortion law repeal panels projected campaigns parallel to those being carried out in the U.S., including major demonstrations on Nov. 6 and Nov. 20.

One of the most exciting events was the launching of the first revolutionary socialist theoretical journal in Canada. John Riddell, an editor of the Quebec socialist monthly *Libération*, announced a special fund drive to raise enough money by Jan. 1 to guarantee the publication of the quarterly magazine for two years.

He projected a 48-page journal, with a fund drive goal of \$4,800, and asked for contributions of \$100 a page. The appeal was met with such enthusiasm that participants in the conference pledged \$6,900. This surpassed their goal by \$2,100 that very night.

Another special point was the announcement of the largest subscription drive ever undertaken by the Canadian Trotskyists for the three papers, *Labor Challenge*, *Young Socialist* and *Libération*.

The conference was the largest single gathering of revolutionary socialists in Canadian history. It reflected the growing strength and influence of socialist ideas among Canadian youth and the increasingly favorable prospects for building the mass antiwar, feminist, and Quebec nationalist movements today.

Cuba in '71

Has a qualitative change occurred



Cuban concessions to "peaceful coexistence" "have represented departures from an internationalist foreign policy, not a scrapping of that policy."

with which it has managed to maintain diplomatic relations.

Similarly, in 1968, the Cubans said little about the revolutionary upsurge in France. This was clearly motivated by narrow considerations of concern about one of the European capitalist governments with which it has trade relations.

The most unprincipled concession to Moscow thus far was Fidel's utterly unjustified, if "critical," endorsement of the Kremlin's 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia to crush a movement seeking to establish socialist democracy.

But in assessing Cuban policy, it must be recognized that while serious political concessions to Stalinist bureaucracy and reformism have been made, these concessions have represented departures from Cuba's generally anticapitalist and internationalist foreign policy and not a scrapping of that policy.

"A revolution is a mighty devourer of human energy, both individual and collective," he wrote in the key chapter, "Soviet Thermidor." "The nerves give way. Consciousness is shaken and characters are worn out. Events unfold too swiftly for the flow of fresh forces to replace the loss."

But more than these important generalities were involved in the degeneration of the Russian Revolution and the rise of what Trotsky called the "Thermidorian" reaction — a reaction analogous to that after the French Revolution of 1789.

A backward, isolated country, wracked by civil war and protracted imperialist intervention, the young Soviet republic also suffered the heavy price of the defeat of a series of revolutionary struggles in the 1920s and early 1930s. The principal setbacks were the defeat of the German revolution of 1923, the crushing of the Chinese revolution in 1927 and the rise

30,000 in N. Zealand antiwar actions

From Intercontinental Press

By GEORGE FYSON

WELLINGTON, New Zealand—In the second national mobilisation this year, on July 30, more than 32,000 people marched in cities and towns throughout New Zealand to demand the immediate withdrawal of all U.S., New Zealand, and allied forces from Indochina. Earlier this year, on April 30, some 35,000 marched. [See *Intercontinental Press*, May 24, p. 467.]

While in some places the July 30 demonstrations were marginally smaller than in April, four towns saw their first antiwar protest ever, and in four cities—Wellington, Christchurch, Nelson, and Hamilton—the demonstrations were the biggest yet.

The July 30 mass actions were the culmination of a broadly based campaign, which continued the upsurge in antiwar activity that began with

the antiwar movement. The most outrageous charges were contained in a document signed by the president of NZUSA and sent to antiwar coalitions throughout the country.

The appearance of this document followed a June 12 national meeting of representatives from antiwar coalitions. This meeting, although recognising that the July 30 mobilisation was under way, voted by a narrow majority to effectively dissolve the national coordinating body, the National Liaison Committee. At this point, many of the delegates, including most of those representing antiwar coalitions in the three main centres, the SAL, and the pro-Moscow Socialist Unity party, walked out of the meeting and voted to continue national coordination. The meeting had in fact been stacked by student politicians and their friends who wanted

The broad support for July 30 was reflected in public endorsements from trade-union leaders, Labour party MPs and branches, and church leaders. At rallies following the demonstrations, speakers included many prominent figures from these areas. Other speakers represented antiwar coalitions, university and high-school antiwar groups, the women's liberation movement, and left-wing groups (including the SAL).

More branches of the Labour party supported this mobilisation than the previous demonstration, although the party leader, Norman Kirk, refused to endorse it. His only excuse was that many on the march would not necessarily support Labour at the next election and that the only answer was a Labour government. The torrent of objections that greeted this remark when Kirk addressed a large student

percent voted to support the march, and 58 percent voted for cancellation of lectures on the afternoon of July 30. On the day of the demonstration, students in Wellington and Christchurch boycotted normal lectures to attend special lectures and other activities relating to the war.

Although further demonstrations on such a scale are unlikely to take place in the next few months because of university and high-school examinations and the summer vacation, the continuous campaign has greatly heightened political awareness among large numbers of young people.

Awareness of international issues and sympathy with oppressed people have extended to other areas. For some time there has been a movement against participating in sports with teams from South Africa. An all-



Christchurch demonstration of 11,000 July 30 was largest antiwar action there yet

the National Antiwar Conference in March.

The success of the second mobilisation was achieved despite the fact that preparations were initially hampered by a red-baiting campaign directed by some forces in the antiwar movement against the Socialist Action League (SAL), which played an important role in the April 30 mobilisation.

The red-baiters, chiefly student politicians from the New Zealand University Students Association (NZUSA), in cooperation with a Maoist splinter group expelled from the pro-Peking Communist party of New Zealand (CPNZ), alleged that the SAL was planning a "take-over" of

at all costs to prevent the SAL from "dominating" the national coordinating body, even if this meant seriously weakening the mobilisation by having no national coordination.

The red-baiting document was answered by an article in the SAL's fortnightly paper, *Socialist Action*, and the red-baiters were by and large silenced. In addition, a national coordinating body was set up following the June 12 meeting, and it produced more publicity material than ever before.

The SAL continued to play an active role in the movement, and *Socialist Action* was again well received on mobilisation day, 2,550 copies being sold.

meeting July 27 showed that many antiwar activists would be even less likely to support a Labour campaign after that.

All the main Trades Councils in the country endorsed the mobilisation, and the Federation of Labour (the national trade-union body) called on its affiliates to support the marches. In Auckland, in particular, antiwar activists built support at job meetings prior to the mobilisation.

Many workers marched under their own banners—seamen, watersiders, railwaymen, and others. Large numbers of those marching in the main centres were young workers.

In a premobilisation referendum at Victoria University, Wellington, 80

white South African women's hockey team, which was scheduled to tour New Zealand in September, cancelled its visit because of anticipated demonstrations. A South African cricket tour has also been cancelled.

There is also widespread sympathy for the people of Bangla Desh, and while activity on this question has largely taken the form of appeals for refugee aid, some political activities are envisaged.

Thus the steadily growing antiwar movement has furthered the development of the general radicalisation—a fact that the government must take into account in deciding the extent of its support to U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia.

Egypt tries 91 in government purge

From Intercontinental Press

Egyptian Prosecutor-General Mustafa Abu Zaid announced August 22 that 91 persons, arrested last May for conspiring against President Anwar el-Sadat, would be tried for high treason beginning August 23.

If convicted, the defendants face a possible death penalty.

The major target of the indictment was former Vice President Ali Sabri, a long-time associate of the late president Nasser. Sabri is known for his pro-Soviet leanings.

Others charged in the indictment include Sharawy Gomaa, former minister of the interior; Sami Sharaf, former minister of state for presidential affairs; Mohammed Fayek, former minister of information; Abdel Mohsen Abul-Nur, former secretary-gen-

eral of the Arab Socialist Union; Diaddin Daoud, member of the executive committee of the ASU; and Labib Shukair, former president of the national assembly.

The 91 are charged with having plotted, under the direction of Ali Sabri, to overthrow the Sadat regime.

Whether or not the charges are true (conspiracies, coups, rumors of plots, etc., have long been a feature of Egyptian political life), the trial indicates a determined effort by Sadat to purge the government apparatus of all potential opposition.

Most of those charged are considered to be "left" Nasserites.

The trial was adjourned after two days and is scheduled to resume on September 4.

The *Washington Post* of September 1 reported that fifteen of the major de-

fendants were members of a semisecret grouping called the Socialist Vanguard. The Socialist Vanguard was established under Nasser's regime as a means of integrating and advancing young cadres within the ASU. Sadat has charged that the grouping became the nucleus of the conspiracy.

While attempting to eliminate political opposition within the government and the ASU, Sadat was faced with a new source of dissent.

He revealed to the central committee of the ASU on August 9 that, during the previous week, a strike had occurred at the Helwan ironworks factory. Strikes are illegal in Egypt, and the disclosure of the work stoppage created a major stir in the Egyptian press.

According to an account in the Au-

gust 31 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*, the workers demanded higher wages and improved working conditions.

When the president of the union came to the factory, the strikers seized him and held him overnight, stating that he would be released if their demands were met.

After the strike was broken by the government, Sadat told the ASU central committee that although he was willing to investigate the social conditions of the workers, strikes were "antidemocratic," and measures would be taken against the workers.

On the night of August 29, Aziz Sedki, vice prime minister and minister of industry, fired the director of the factory, the local union leaders, and the workers who had led the strike.

In Review

Film Carnal Knowledge

Produced and directed by Mike Nichols. Starring Jack Nicholson, Candice Bergen and Art Garfunkel.

This film adds another piece to the jigsaw puzzle of what it is to be a woman. It would seem to be a film about the way in which men maltreat and deceive women. But fundamentally it is about the way in which women collaborate in this trickery, allowing and encouraging men to destroy them.

Two men move from their college years to middle age in what they term "friendship." This "brotherhood" involves an exchange of confidences when it is convenient, and deceit when that is convenient. What unites them is the way they view women: as commodities to be experimented on, used up, and thrown away. The only difference between the two cynics is that one uses women deliberately, the other less consciously. The reason the end result is the same is that women are eager to help them in this exploitation.

Everyone in the audience was watching herself or himself. As a woman, I watched "myself" help a man to brutalize me with his selfish, fumbling sexual curiosity that took no account of my existence. I saw that same "self" in marriage with a more considerate man, who still could not see me as a person and thought of physical contact with me in terms of not forgetting to give me sexual pleasure. And there was that pathetic female "self" who so needed contact with the opposite sex that she adopted their sexual behavior, took on their degrading language.

What is the common denominator in the behavior of all these women, all these "selves"? The need for affection and security which will help us to break through the loneliness we all feel. That is why women allow themselves to be mauled and raped in the name of



Cover photo from *Women: A Journal of Liberation*

sexual love, persuaded to give up their work to devote themselves to a man's needs, and be abused for becoming a vegetable when they have forsaken the world to center themselves around one member of the opposite sex.

It was a pain for me to watch these women on the screen. It's a funny film, and as usual the men get most of the laughs. But I was forced to watch the unfolding of female self-deceit which is at the basis of every woman's life until she takes the gigantic step of understanding what it all means. I watched the way in which I, like every woman, have consciously collaborated with man after man to eradicate me as a person, to make me accept shallow and horrible relationships when I knew that better things were possible. Like every one of those female characters, we women have done this to ourselves and hated ourselves, and men, for it.

It is not until we realize that we cannot escape from alienation by accepting alienation between ourselves and men that we can rescue ourselves. Until we no longer care about security, and until we break our emotional dependence on men, we cannot end our crippled state. This is not the clear message of the film—it is my conclusion. But what is clear is that change among women has already taken place and we are removing ourselves from any man who persists in this debasing process.

The concluding scene of the film is the most important because of the way it dramatizes our self-deceit. The middle-aged cynic finds that he can no longer get an erection unless he goes to a lover (or prostitute) who acts out with him a scene he has written. The lover is only doing what all we women do—accepting a script that has been written for us by men and apologizing profoundly when we forget our lines. Our future depends on whether we are willing to tear up that script.

—JO O'BRIEN

Books

The Enemy--What Every American Should Know About Imperialism

by Felix Greene. Vintage Books. New York, 1971. 381 pp. \$1.95.

The Enemy is a careful and very informative study of contemporary imperialism, relying heavily on Lenin for an understanding of the phenomenon, and on Harry Magdoff's *The Age of Imperialism* for insight into its current manifestations. Greene's main contribution is to bring a lot of information together and to link what the United States government does throughout the world to what is going on here—driving home the point that imperialism is no solution to the deepening contradictions of capitalism.

Greene spends considerable space looking at the aid, loan, and assistance programs the United States so loudly proclaims as the means to overcome the inequalities in the world today. This "aid," he shows, is a fraud.

He describes how only 30 percent of the "aid" dispensed between 1945 and 1967 went to underdeveloped countries; how the aid is generally tied to the purchase of U.S. goods—frequently those doing poorly on the international market; how AID (Agency for International Development) procurement accounted for some 40 percent of the tonnage of steel exported from the U.S. in 1968; how the U.S. gets a substantial hold over the domestic currency of the recipient country through the purchase of U.S. goods under the aid programs; how the U.S. calculates the advantages to be gained by training the upcoming military and bureaucratic elites of the underdeveloped world to acquire a taste for the American way of life; how repayment of past loans always takes a major chunk out of current aid (44 percent in 1966); how repayment of loans and remittance of profits to imperialist companies must be made in the currency of the donor or investing country, so that Mexico, for example, pays 60 cents to the dollar of all its foreign exchange straight back to the advanced capitalist countries, particularly the U.S.

These are some of the statistics and case studies that Greene presents to demonstrate that the aid program, far from helping the underdeveloped countries, is actually a fraud that keeps them locked in underdevelopment. Their only way out is to stop the endless cycle of borrowing, take control of their own natural resources, and apply them to their own needs. This can only be achieved through a total break with capitalism—that is, through a socialist revolution.

Greene stresses that imperialism is not an accidental aberration but the inevitable and final stage of capitalism. He points to the tremendous economic dependence of the advanced capitalist countries on the underdeveloped world for raw materials, and he outlines the extent to which the "octopus" of U.S. imperialism has spread. "Today, dominant Western nations have acquired control of more than three-quarters of the known major mineral resources in Asian, African and Latin American countries." The dimensions of U.S. imperialism are overwhelming: The world's third largest industrial economy (after the United States and the Soviet Union) consists of the overseas operations of U.S. corporations. This vast empire is policed by the 3,401 overseas bases operated by the United States.

Greene rebuts those who claim that revolution in the advanced capitalist countries is impossible. He shows how the lot of the American worker is worsening, how competition from other imperialist powers is forcing U.S. capitalists to cut costs at the expense of the workers, and how the harsh realities of U.S. policies abroad are becoming evident to growing numbers of people. The result is mass radicalization.

Greene points to the Vietnam war as a watershed: "This war is a turning point. From now on America's future can only recede. For Vietnam represents more than a crushing military defeat at the hands of a tiny Asian country; it defines the moment when for the first time Americans began to understand the nature of their own country and the reality behind the rhetoric. With Vietnam there began to stir in the consciousness of the American people a profound and incalculable doubt."

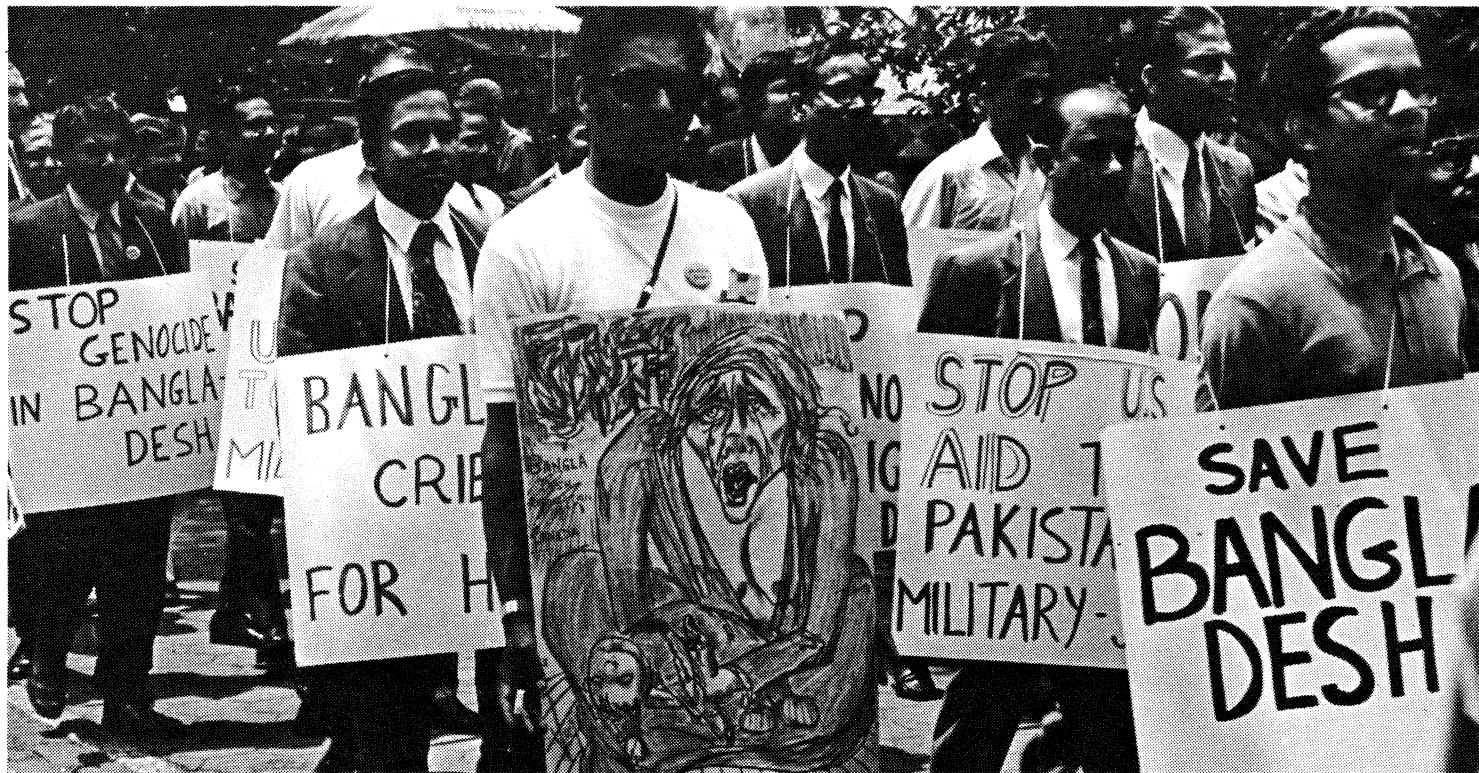
Greene views the deepening radicalization with great hope and sees the need for continuing "mass protests against actions by the ruling class." But he attacks "the new militants" for not always recognizing the need to build a revolutionary party. "The goal of any serious revolutionary movement is *control of the state*. How can this be successfully carried out against such an array of state power by a revolutionary movement with no strong centralized leadership, without strategy, without planning and without discipline?"

With all this promising material, Greene's final words come as a letdown. Jumping off from a quotation from Mao Tse-tung ("Revolution begins within the consciousness of men"), Greene concludes that "the single greatest reason why the revolutionary movements develop so slowly in Western capitalist countries and why they remain so weak and fragmented is because our minds have been deformed by the social conditions imposed upon us. This means that *the initial battle needs to be fought within ourselves*." (Emphasis in original)

Of course, it is true that our minds have been stunted and bound by capitalism, and that these fetters must be shaken off before one can become a true revolutionary. But the shedding of such fetters is accomplished in the course of political activity—through participation in the great struggles of the day—not through engaging in self-criticism and introspection.

—HELEN JARVIS

Guardian equivocates on struggle in Bangla Desh



N.Y. Bangla Desh support demonstration June 1, 1971

Photo by Ed Weaver

By TONY THOMAS

After months of virtually no comment at all, and much criticism from its readers, the *Guardian* has finally printed an article by one of its staff writers on the national liberation struggle of Bangla Desh. The article, by Richard E. Ward, appears in the Sept. 1 issue.

Ward plays down support to the national liberation struggle of the East Bengali people, while at the same time whitewashing Peking's reactionary role.

He fails to see the Bengali struggle as the national liberation struggle of an oppressed people. Instead, he terms it a Pakistani "internecine civil conflict," an explosion of "regionalism," or "separatism," but never as the just democratic struggle for the self-determination of the East Bengalis.

Although Ward criticizes the West Pakistani butchers of hundreds of thousands of Bengalis, his sharpest attacks are reserved for the East Pakistani Awami League. He sounds like critics of Black or Chicano nationalism who use criticism of reformist wings of the Black and Brown struggles as an excuse for rejecting support to the struggle of an oppressed nationality as a whole.

Ward states: "It is not intended to repeat here the widely reported atrocities, which, it should be noted, have been committed by both sides." (Emphasis added.) Here Ward appears to equate blows the East Bengalis may have struck fighting for self-determination with the massive, savage repression carried out by the reactionary Pakistani militarists.

In reality, the East Bengalis form a distinct people with their own racial, cultural, linguistic and historical identity that differentiates them from the West Pakistanis. Since Pakistan was founded in 1947, the East Bengalis have been oppressed. Even the very word for Pakistan is an acronym for eight separate territories of British India and Central Asia that might have been incorporated into a single Islamic state. The young Moslem who coined it at Cambridge University in 1933 included Iran and Afghanistan—but not Bengal.

The government, the army, foreign aid allotments, Pakistani business, all have favored the West Pakistani minority. The West Pakistanis have tried to wipe out Bengali culture and have tried to force the Urdu language down

the throats of the Bengali-speaking majority.

Thus, rather than "regional" differences set off by Awami League leader Mujib Rahman's "separatism," as Ward claims, the civil war in Bangla Desh was the product of the Bengalis' resistance to over 20 years of national oppression.

Ward states, "Mujib in effect pushed the East Bengalis toward a separatism that they had no means of defending." Just the opposite is true. Mujib's reformist policy over the years was opposed to independence for Bangla Desh, favoring autonomy within Pakistan. It was the masses of Bengali workers, students and peasants who paralyzed the country in a general strike, who marched through the streets of Dacca and other Bengali cities demanding full independence, who first raised the banner of "separatism."

It was precisely the Awami League leaders' fear of the type of revolutionary struggle for independence that the masses of Bengalis were posing that led Mujib to refuse to prepare the Bengalis for a revolutionary struggle. Instead, he negotiated with Yahya and other West Pakistani figures until the last minute, while the West Pakistan forces that were to massacre hundreds of thousands of Bengalis slipped into the country.

Finally, Ward attempts to cover over Mao Tse-tung's support to Yahya Khan: "China's role in the conflict has been widely criticized by elements of the American left. The critics seem to imply that China could or should in some way affect the events in East Pakistan, or that a few words from Chou En-lai would transform the anti-Communist Awami League into a vanguard revolutionary party. A realistic interpretation of China's role was given by Eqbal Ahmed in an open letter supporting the East Pakistani movement, published in the Sept. 2 *New York Review [of Books]*. Eqbal wrote that the Chinese 'have offered Pakistan their support only against foreign interference; and indicated their belief that this conflict is an internal matter.'"

This is patently untrue. Chou En-lai spoke even more "realistically" on China's policies in Pakistan as being related to "internal" matters such as the Bengali national liberation struggle. Chou stated in his letter to Yahya Khan made public on April 12, 1971,

that Yahya and other Pakistani leaders had "done a lot of useful work to uphold the unification of Pakistan and to prevent it from moving toward a split. In our opinion, unification of Pakistan and unity of the peoples of East and West Pakistan are basic guarantees for Pakistan to attain prosperity and strength." (Emphasis added.)

With fewer resources at its disposal, the Maoist regime in Peking is nevertheless doing its best to match Nixon's backing for Yahya Khan. In the Aug. 14 *Washington Post*, Dilip Mukerjee reported that China is outfitting two Pakistani infantry divisions before their departure for Bangla Desh.

Reporting on the "National Independence Day" celebrations of the occupying army in Dacca, capital of East Pakistan, Malcolm W. Browne wrote in the Aug. 15 *New York Times*: "In downtown Dacca, portraits of Mao Tse-tung appeared with those of Pakistani military leaders. Communist China is currently considered here as Pakistan's only strong ally." Let Richard Ward tell the Bengalis that China's support to Yahya Khan has not been "internal"!

It is a well-known fact that since the border wars between China and India and India and Pakistan in the early 1960's, Peking has designated the Pakistani regimes—led first by Ayub Khan and then by Yahya Khan—as "progressive." Peking played a similarly reactionary role during the rebellions in East and West Pakistan in 1968 and 1969 when it refused to support the anti-Khan forces, and likewise failed to even inform the Chinese people of what was going on.

While as Ward cynically states, Mao's statements alone will not bring into being a revolutionary party capable of winning national liberation for the East Bengalis, his opposition has led many who loyally follow Mao Tse-tung Thought—including, apparently, Richard E. Ward and the *Guardian*—into either opposing or equivocating on support to the national liberation struggle of Bangla Desh.

In the past, the *Guardian* has prided itself on its support to national liberation struggles in Southeast Asia, Latin America, Africa and the United States itself. However, the logical outcome of its refusal to take a clear position of support to the right of Bangla Desh to self-determination is inconsistent with support of any other struggle of an oppressed people.

Call int'l abortion actions

The following call for international demonstrations on Nov. 20 for abortion on demand was adopted by the Aug. 28 national coordinating committee meeting of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition.

Throughout history few things have been more universal, or known fewer national boundaries, than the suffering of women from the denial of our right to control our own lives, our own bodies. Decades ago the suffragists of the United States took inspiration from their British sisters and went on to build part of the international movement through which women won the right to vote.

Today, in every corner of the earth, laws deny women the right to abortion, the right to decide whether to have children. Now a new generation of women has begun to stand up and fight. This struggle is rapidly crossing the barriers of nations and continents, of language and backgrounds. We have inspired one another and learned from one another.

In the United States, women from many backgrounds are uniting in the fight for the right to abortion. On Nov. 20 we will march in massive numbers on Washington, D.C., and San Francisco to demand the repeal of all abortion laws, with no forced sterilization and the repeal of all anti-contraception laws.

We call on our sisters around the world to unite with us on that day—to bring our power together, to let the world hear in one united voice and many languages our slogan: "Abortion: A Woman's Right to Choose." When we join together throughout the world, no force can stop us until we win.

Veteran socialist dies

Harry Lipenholtz, who was known among his political associates as Harry Gold, died Sept. 2 in New York at the age of 81. He was a tireless activist and political thinker and had just recently lectured at the Lower East Side Mobilization for Peace in New York on the projected Nixon visit to China.

In 1936 he broke with social democratic ideology and joined forces with the Trotskyists in the Socialist Party. He became a mainstay through his political alertness and organizational skill. He was beloved and respected by his comrades and elected to the Control Commission of the Socialist Workers Party in the 1940s.

In the 1950s he left the party as part of a group that existed for a time around the magazine *American Socialist*. Later he was readmitted to the SWP, and although he again dropped out, he continued to involve himself as best he could, despite his age, in revolutionary politics and the antiwar movement.

At the last he collaborated with the *Guardian*, doing voluntary work in the library and sitting in at staff meetings.

He was an impoverished immigrant and worker who became a civil engineer. His penetrating mind and deep devotion will be affectionately remembered by old and young in the movement.

Calendar

BOSTON

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN '71 meets every Thursday, 7 p.m., at 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307. You are invited!

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

THE NEED TO ABOLISH ABORTION LAWS: A panel of women speakers. Fri., Sept. 16, 8:30 p.m., at 136 Lawrence St. (corner of Willoughby). Donation \$1, h.s. 50c. Aup. Brooklyn Militant Forum.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

FALL SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL SERIES. "The Impending Conflict—from the Fall of Primo de Rivera to the Popular Front," the first of three classes on the Spanish Civil War by Les Evans, editor of the *International Socialist Review*. Sun., Sept. 19, 1 p.m., at 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor. 50 cents per session, \$3 for entire series of eight classes. For more information, call 260-0976. Aup. Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

THE REBELLION IN IRELAND. Speakers from the Irish Republican Army and the Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Sept. 17, 8:30 p.m., at 2744 Broadway (106th St.), Second Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

Calendar and Classified ad rates: 75c per line of 56-character-wide typewritten copy. Display ad rates: \$10.00 per column inch (\$7.50 if camera-ready ad is enclosed). Payment must be made in advance. The Militant is published each week on Friday. Deadlines for ad copy: Friday, one week preceding publication, for Classified and display ads; Tuesday noon, three days preceding publication, for Calendar ads.

...Cuba

Continued from page 18

country can create a barrier sufficient to guarantee immunity from the ever intensifying international youth radicalization.

Cuba will not be exempt from this process. And the radicalization will not bring procapitalist ideas to the youth of Cuba. It will only more deeply imbue them with a conviction of the need to defend, deepen, straighten out and extend their revolution.

A decade ago, just before the ouster of Anibal Escalante and the denun-

ciation of Stalinist bureaucracy, I had the opportunity to talk with a Cuban revolutionary in the United Nations delegation. He had been an organizer of the underground movement in Santiago de Cuba that provided a principal base of support for the guerrillas in the Sierra. I voiced concern about the then obvious growth of Stalinist influence in Cuba. He replied tersely: "We did not make a revolution to turn it over to someone else."

Despite the difficulties and setbacks, I am confident that this spirit and outlook has not been eradicated among the Cuban people. In due time it will prevail.

...controls

Continued from page 15
these gains.

The elimination of the ceiling at the conclusion of the war was followed by a period of nearly 20 years in which no further freezes were attempted until Nixon's speech last month.

The majority of working people today are opposed to the war in Indochina. The absence of a "demagogic peg" on which to hang the "equality of sacrifice" program is all the more acute for Meany and his cohorts—"sacrifice" for what? In seeking to find a way to live with whatever program Nixon comes up with at the end of the 90-day period, or in putting together a program of opposition to Nixon's policies based on support for the Democratic Party—whose representatives have backed the wage freeze 100 percent—the "labor statesmen" of the AFL-CIO also have to confront other differences in the way things are now and the way they were in the New Deal-Fair Deal days of Roosevelt and Truman.

The economy today is stagnating. During World War II, nearly everyone could be put to work, but today unemployment is on the rise.

Most importantly, there is a deepening radicalization today that makes things quite different from the way they were in 1942-1945 or 1951-1952. Working people have not been isolated from the impact of the antiwar, Black, Chicano and women's movements.

Preis concludes his book by saying that as long as the enormous potential power of organized labor exists, "the

American workers are bound to ask themselves sooner or later: Why must we submit to exploitation, insecurity, recurrent unemployment, political suppression and the threat of atomic annihilation? Why should we not use this organized power that lies so ready to our hands to effect our own solution of the impasse of modern society, to direct our own destiny?" The current moves in the economy suggest that the asking—and the answering—of this question may not be a long way off.

...unions

Continued from page 4

of District Council 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFL-CIO), writing in the Aug. 27 issue of *Public Employee Press* against the wage freeze, also connected the government's economic policy with the Vietnam war.

Gotbaum wrote, "I am struck by the total absence from Mr. Nixon's program to combat inflation of any mention of the vast military establishment which devours \$84-billion a year and is the chief cause of the inflation from which we all suffer. The president will impress me with his seriousness in dealing with inflation when he announces a massive reduction in the military establishment, beginning with the speedy return of all of our men from Southeast Asia."

When the 36th international convention of the United Electrical Workers opened in Los Angeles, Aug. 30, it had before it the officers' report, which stated in part:

"The American people now have had the full ugly picture of that war (in Southeast Asia) laid bare to them.

"Their living standards are undermined and their jobs wiped out by the millions by a war-caused inflation and recession; their cities rotting because almost \$200-billion of their tax monies has been siphoned off to feed the war machine. . . ."

These expressions of resentment against the evil effects of the war in Vietnam are pale reflections of what millions of workers, who are deprived of wages due them and are being asked to sacrifice in the name of this war, feel about it.

The overwhelming majority of

union members are opposed to the war and will be watching in the coming months to see what their official representatives say and do about it.

The position taken by Local 1199, Drug and Hospital union, is the clearest to date. It submits a necessary amendment to the inadequate position against the wage freeze of the AFL-CIO Executive Council. There can be no meaningful opposition to the wage freeze by those who fail to support this amendment and the demand that all U.S. troops be withdrawn from Southeast Asia now.

...NOW

Continued from page 5

On a more serious note, Betty Friedan, a founder of NOW, spoke with concern over the dangers inherent in the red-baiting resolution to condemn the SWP and YSA, and opposed it.

The motion for censure of the SWP and YSA was overwhelmingly defeated in a vote of the full conference on Sept. 5.

In the confusion that followed, an ambiguous compromise resolution expressing general opposition to "divide and conquer" policies in the feminist movement passed by a vote of 146 to 97.

The Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Linda Jenness was present at the convention to make her program known to NOW members and seek their support. In the course of the conference, supporters of the red-baiting motion to condemn the SWP and YSA viciously attacked the SWP for having a campaign office in the convention hotel and for informing individual NOW members of this campaign of a socialist woman for president. One NOW leader even tore down an SWP campaign leaflet posted in the lobby.

These women made no such criticisms of people who announced a Republican caucus meeting slated to take place at the conference, or people with literature of the New Democratic Coalition. Also, literature for McGovern for president was passed out on the first day of the conference.

Socialist Directory

ALABAMA: University: YSA, P.O. Box 5462, University, Ala. 35486.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o John Beadle, P.O. Box 750, Tempe, Arizona 85281. Tel: (602) 968-2913.

Tucson: YSA, 410 N. 4th Ave., Tucson, Ariz. 85705.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94609. Tel: (415) 654-9728.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Tel: SWP—(213) 463-1917, YSA—(213) 463-1966.

Riverside: YSA, c/o Woody Diaz, 5724 Warren St., Arlington, Calif. 92503.

Sacramento: YSA, c/o Mark Lampson, 2307-A 24th Ave., Sacramento, Calif. 95822.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. 94114. Tel: (415) 626-9958.

San Diego: SWP, P.O. Box 15111, San Diego, Calif. 92115. YSA, P.O. Box 15186, San Diego, Calif. 92115.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA and Militant Bookstore, 1100 Champa St., Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 623-9505. Bookstore open Mon.-Sat., 10:30 a.m.—7 p.m.

FLORIDA: Jacksonville: YSA, P.O. Box 8409, Arlington Branch, Jacksonville, Fla. 32211.

Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Brett Merkey, 814 California St., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304. Tel: (904) 222-8776.

Tampa: YSA, P.O. Box 9133, Tampa, Fla. 33604. Tel: (813) 228-4655.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 1176 1/2 West Peachtree St., SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 7817, Atlanta, Ga. 30309. Tel: (404) 876-2230.

ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA and bookstore, 180 N. Wacker Dr., Rm. 310, Chicago, Ill. 60606. Tel: (312) 641-0147.

DeKalb: YSA, c/o Student Activities Center, Northern Illinois U, DeKalb, Ill. 60115. Tel: (815) 753-0510 (day); (815) 758-2935 (night).

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o John Heilers, West University Apts. #22, Indiana U, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Mary Bee, 402 Yorkshire, Lawrence, Kan. 66044. Tel: (913) 843-8083.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, Box 324, Student Activities Office, Campus Center, U of Mass., Amherst, Mass. 01002.

Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307, Boston, Mass. 02115. Tel: (617) 536-6981, 262-9688.

Pittsfield: YSA, c/o R.G. Pucko, 77 Euclid Ave., Pittsfield, Mass. 01201.

Worcester: YSA, Box 1470, Clark U, Worcester, Mass. 01610. Socialist Workers Campaign '71, P.O. Box 97, Webster Sq. Sta., Worcester, Mass. 01603.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, P.O. Box 408, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48107.

Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE1-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, P.O. Box 14, East Lansing, Mich. 48823.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA and Labor Bookstore, 1 University N.E. (at E. Hennepin) 2nd fl., Mpls. 55413. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, U of Missouri in Kansas City, 5100 Rockhill Road, Kansas City, Mo. 64110. Tel: (816) 924-3714.

NEW HAMPSHIRE: Portsmouth: YSA, P.O. Box 479, Durham, N.H. 03824.

NEW YORK: Binghamton: YSA, P.O. Box 1389, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901.

Brooklyn: SWP and YSA, 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.

Long Island: YSA, P.O. Box 357, Roosevelt, L.I., N.Y. 11575. Tel: (516) FR9-0289.

New York City—City-wide SWP and YSA, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-8214.

Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA and Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: SWP—(212) 982-6051, YSA—(212) 260-0976, Merit Books—(212) 982-5940.

Upper West Side: SWP and YSA, 2744 Broadway (106th St.), New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

NORTH CAROLINA: Chapel Hill: YSA, Box 2448, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514.

OHIO: Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 4420 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44103. Tel: (216) 391-5553.

Yellow Springs: YSA, Antioch College Union, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

OREGON: Portland: YSA, c/o Val Moller, 1944 N.W. Johnson, Room 103, Portland, Ore. 97209.

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA5-4316.

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 117, Annex Sta., Providence, R.I. 02901. Tel: (401) 863-3340.

TENNESSEE: Knoxville: YSA, c/o Mike Lemonds, P.O. Box 8641, University Sta., Knoxville, Tenn. 37916.

TEXAS: Austin: SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 5586, West Austin Station, Austin, Texas 78703.

Houston: SWP and YSA and Pathfinder Books, 6409 Lyons Ave., Houston, Texas 77020. Tel: (713) 674-0612.

San Antonio: YSA, c/o P.O. Box 774, San Antonio, Texas 78202.

UTAH: Logan: YSA, c/o Dayne Goodwin, 855 North 7th St. East, Logan, Utah 84321.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP and YSA, 2000 P St. NW, Rm. 413, Wash., D.C. 20036. Tel: (202) 833-9560.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: Militant Bookstore, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Hrs. 11 a.m.—8 p.m., Mon-Sat. Tel: (206) 523-2555.

WISCONSIN: La Crosse: YSA, Box 157, La Crosse, Wis. 54601.

Madison: YSA, 202 W. Gilman, Madison, Wis. 53703. Tel: (608) 256-0857.

Milwaukee: YSA, UWM Student Union, 2200 E. Kenwood Blvd., Milwaukee, Wis. 53211. Tel: (414) 332-9424.

Oshkosh: YSA, 440 Bowen St., Oshkosh, Wis. 54901. Tel: (414) 233-2145.

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Black Voices from Prison



by Etheridge Knight

"The warden said to me the other day (innocently, I think), "Say, etheridge, why come the black boys don't run off like the white boys do?" I lowered my jaw and scratched my head and said (innocently, I think), "Well, suh, I ain't for sure, but I reckon it's cause we ain't got no wheres to run to."

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The Instituto Legal de Puerto Rico was created to serve the cause of Puerto Rican independence, those fighters for independence who faced imperialist repression, those who refused to enter the armed forces of the United States, and those who are steadfastly and consciously marching toward a Free Homeland. One of the most profound lessons of all revolutions throughout human history is that it is not in tragi-comic conquests that the revolution clears its path but on the contrary, by giving rise to counterrevolution—i.e., an adversary—and then, by struggling against it, to gain in maturity until it is defeated. It is through this process and with this understanding that the Instituto Legal de Puerto Rico renders its services. Since it was founded, it has had more than 500 cases in the Puerto Rican courts, has provided more than 3,000 consultations regarding compulsory military service and is presently involved in more than 250 cases in the courts of Puerto Rico. And the fact that one of its lawyers, Roberto Jose Maldonado, was savagely beaten in the police headquarters in Rio Piedras last March 11 is unmistakable evidence that the Instituto Legal de Puerto Rico is providing a useful service to the independence of Puerto Rico. "It is good if the enemy attacks us, for this proves that we have drawn a clear line of demarcation between our two camps. Better yet if the enemy attacks us with fury and paints us in black and as if we were totally lacking in virtue, for this shows that not only have we drawn a clear line of demarcation between our two camps, but that our work achieved remarkable results."

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THE MILITANT

Rev. Koen is released from jail

By DERRICK MORRISON

As the result of a national protest campaign, Rev. Charles Koen, executive-director of the Cairo, Ill., United Front, was paroled on Sept. 3.

He had been in the St. Louis county workhouse since July 19, where he began a fast which he pledged to continue "for the duration of my unjust imprisonment." The fast was to protest the "United States Government's . . . action in putting in jail Sister Angela Davis, David Hilliard, Minister Huey P. Newton, the Soledad Brothers, the Indians, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and all oppressed people suffering injustices under the racist, oppressive, suppressive system in this country while fighting for liberation and freedom."

Among the many rallies held in the Midwest to protest his imprisonment, those in St. Louis had national significance.

One such rally on Aug. 21 featured Dick Gregory, famed civil rights activist and entertainer, and the Rev. C. T. Vivian of the Black World Institute in Chicago.

Another rally held the following Saturday, Aug. 28, brought to St. Louis Black actor and film director Ossie Davis, Rev. Irv Joyner of the Commission for Racial Justice in New York, Edna Williams of the Chicago United Front, and Frank Smith of the East St. Louis, Ill., United Front. Max Roach, the nationally known jazz percussionist was also present. Local speakers included Matt Eubanks of the Progressive Black Workers Party.

This particular rally came a couple of days after Rev. Koen was removed from the workhouse to Homer G. Phillips Hospital because of a marked deterioration in his health. Despite this decline, reports indicate that Rev. Koen was in very high spirits, vowing to continue his fast.

The final mass meeting, scheduled for Sept. 4, was to have been addressed by Rev. Jesse Jackson, head of SCLC's Operation Breadbasket in Chicago. Jackson was not able to make it, but the following morning he did show up and spoke to a small crowd on the hospital steps, held a press conference, and visited Koen.

In addition to these rallies organized

by the St. Louis United Front, Koen received visits from two important personalities who happened to be in the city: Georgia Jackson, mother of slain Soledad Brother George Jackson, and civil liberties attorney William Kunstler.

Sister Jackson and her husband Lester had landed at the St. Louis airport on Aug. 29 to bury her son's body in nearby Mount Vernon, Ill. While proceeding to the gravesite, the two stopped at Phillips Hospital to see Koen.

The next day, Kunstler dropped in after speaking to 1,400 people at St. Louis University. He led a procession of several hundred students to the hospital.

This swelling tide of solidarity, in combination with Koen's heroic fast, began to prompt even St. Louis city officials to speak out against Koen's jailing. This is when the city's Human Relations Council joined the drive to get parole for Koen.

On Sept. 2, the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, not known to be any friend of the Black struggle, ran an editorial demanding parole and seriously questioning the police frame-up that resulted in Koen's six-month sentence in the workhouse. It stated: "So, what happened? One afternoon in September 1968, the Rev. Mr. Koen, along with Leon Dent, was arrested for driving an automobile with a defective brake light and failing to have a driver's license. We will pass over the Police Department's uncanny knack for observing traffic violations by Black civil rights activists, a knack unmatched since labor organizers became respectable.

"At the police station, the official version has it, Mr. Dent set off a fight by shoving a police officer. It required the efforts of eight officers to subdue the two men, the Rev. Mr. Koen suffering numerous head lacerations and broken bones in his hands, which a physician said appeared to have been caused by a hard object, like a nightstick. Subsequently, the mayor publicly branded him a troublemaker, the governor expressed disapproval of disciplinary action taken against some

of the officers involved in the fight, and the Rev. Mr. Koen was convicted of assaulting the police. Judge David McMullan sentenced him to six months without requesting presentence investigation by the State Board of Probation and Parole.

"If Mr. Koen were white and respectable, would he have been sentenced to six months for fighting with the police? We doubt it. Would he have been arrested in the first place? We wonder."

At the time of the arrest, Koen, who was born in Cairo, Ill., headed a group of activists known as the Black Liberators. The Missouri Supreme Court upheld the totally unjust 1968 conviction on June 28 of this year and refused to rehear it July 16, thus

paving the way for Koen's jailing July 19.

An indication of how widespread the opposition to this injustice had become was evidenced when Harold J. Gibbons, president of Teamsters Joint Council 13 and a vice-president of the international union, urged the mayor and governor to release Koen. He issued the statement just hours before Judge McMullan granted parole.

Among others in the radical and nationalist movements who announced solidarity with Koen were Imamu Amiri Baraka (Leroi Jones) of the Committee for a Unified Newark, Chicago poet Don L. Lee, and the 1972 presidential and vice-presidential candidates of the Socialist Workers Party, Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley.



Rev. Charles Koen recovering from fast in St. Louis hospital.

Photo by Leroy Bryant

Grand Dragon of KKK indicted in Houston

HOUSTON, Sept. 8—Today a federal grand jury here indicted Frank Converse, Grand Dragon of the Texas KKK and owner of a gun shop, on charges of illegal weapons possession one day after fellow Klansman James Hutto was convicted of conspiring to destroy a Pacifica Radio station on the West Coast.

The grand jury also indicted former Houston police officers Hill and McMahon on charges of violating the civil rights of Bobby Joe Connors, a Houston Black, by beating him to death in a suburban police station in 1970.

By JERRY FANNING and ANDY BUSTIN

HOUSTON—On Tuesday, Sept. 7, a jury in federal district court here deliberated for four hours and found local Klansman Jimmy Dale Hutto guilty of conspiring to destroy Pacifica Foundation's radio station in California. The charges grew out of the arrest of Hutto and two others after a highway chase on the outskirts of Houston Jan. 15, 1971.

Since the planned destruction of the radio station never took place, the government's case rested on the testimony of the other two, who got scared and tipped off the FBI for the arrest.

On the first day of the trial, one of the co-conspirators testified that Hutto told him, "When we would be driving across the desert, if we run into any Black Panthers or any niggers, we will kill them and take their money."

Hutto's counsel, right-wing attorney J. B. Stoner (leader of the National States Rights Party from Savannah, Ga.), based his defense on an attempt to discredit the ex-Klansmen's testimony. He alleged a counter-conspiracy by the FBI to "protect revolutionaries" and persecute the Klan. In his closing argument, Stoner argued that instead of having Hutto on trial, the Justice Department and the FBI "ought to have the revolutionaries here today."

"Anyone who keeps tabs on the revolutionaries who are waging a revolution against us, the government brings them to court," Stoner charged. He

said that the government's exhibits of evidence such as the pending state indictments against Hutto and fellow Klansman Louis Beam for another case—the Oct. 6, 1970, bombing of Pacifica radio station KPFT's transmitter in Houston—were introduced solely to prejudice the jury against Hutto and against the Klan. Beam, called as a witness for the defense, testified to the use of Klansmen as police informers on left-wing groups, confirming charges of collusion between the Houston Police Department and the Klan.

Hutto was also convicted on two counts of illegal purchase and possession of a gun because he had previously been adjudicated mentally incompetent and was barred by law from owning firearms.

This is the first of several pending cases against Klansmen to go to trial. Hutto and Beam face state charges for the Oct. 6, 1970, bombing of the Pacifica transmitter. Beam and Pete Lout Jr. were also indicted for bombing the Socialist Workers Party's Houston offices on March 12, 1971. These

charges were lodged by a June 1971 Harris County grand jury.

When asked why the federal charges on the Jan. 15 arrest came to trial ahead of the state charges on the earlier bombing, government prosecutor Edward McDonough replied, "We move faster." This referred to the foot-dragging of the Houston police, who, after initially intimating that the SWP had bombed its own headquarters, sat on the evidence it had on both the SWP and Pacifica bombings until the grand jury was convened in June. The grand jury's indictments were primarily in response to the vigorous campaign of the Committee to Defend Democratic Rights in Houston against right-wing terrorism. Before this campaign, right-wing terrorists operated with a virtually free hand in Houston.

The conviction of Hutto on conspiracy charges carrying a maximum sentence of 12 years is unprecedented in the recent past. But with the state charges still pending, no one has yet been convicted for any one of the literally hundreds of recent acts of terrorism in Houston.